

. FACTS AND OPINIONS

TOUCHING THE

REAL ORIGIN, CHARACTER, AND INFLUENCE

OF THE

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY:

VIEWS OF

WILBERFORCE, CLARKSON, AND OTHERS,

AND OPINIONS OF THE

FREE PEOPLE OF COLOR OF THE UNITED STATES.

BY

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PREFACE BY HON. WILLIAM JAY.

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PREFACE.

BY WILLIAM JAY.

THE scheme of sending our free colored population to Africa, prosecuted in the manner it is by the Colonization-Society, and forwarded as it is by extraordinary and most reprehensible legislation, is exciting a disastrous influence on the prospects of the colored people, both bond and free, and is familiarizing the public mind with injustice and cruelty. The following pages afford ample materials, drawn from the writings and speeches of the advocates of this scheme, for learning its true origin and real purport. It will be seen that the idea of banishing the free blacks sprang from the alarm caused by a slave insurrection ; and that, from first to last, the enterprise has been regarded as intimately connected with the security of the slaveholders and the permanency of human bondage.

It is freely admitted that benevolent men of the north have coöperated in this effort, in the hope of benefiting

the unhappy people whom it was proposed to exile. In the pursuit of what appeared to them a good object, they seem not to have been duly scrupulous about the means used to effect it.

It may be true, that some of the emigrants find in Liberia a comfortable asylum from American prejudice and oppression; but it should be recollected that the very money expended in their transportation was collected by appeals powerfully tending to aggravate the sufferings of their brethren who are left behind. The whole drift of the constant stream of vituperation directed against our free colored people, as "a curse and a blight," is to encourage such a course of conduct toward them as shall extort their "consent" to abandon the land of their birth.

The original, active, pervading principle of the Colonization Society is, as Mr. Henry A. Wise, with more frankness than prudence, truly asserted, "FRIENDSHIP TO THE SLAVEHOLDERS." None are better acquainted with this cardinal principle of the colonization effort, nor more ready to avail themselves of it, than our political aspirants. Hence Mr. Webster, in his famous and unhappy speech of 1850, himself an officer of the society, offered the following magnificent bid for the presidency:—

"If any gentleman from the SOUTH shall propose a scheme of colonization to be carried on by this government upon a large scale, for the transportation of the free colored people to any colony, or *to any place in the world*, I should be quite disposed to incur almost any degree of expense to accomplish that object. There have

been received into the treasury of the United States eighty millions of dollars, the proceeds of the public lands ceded by Virginia, which have already been sold; and if the residue shall be sold at the same rate, the whole will amount to TWO HUNDRED MILLIONS OF DOLLARS. Now, if Virginia or the south see fit to make any proposition to RELIEVE themselves from the BURDEN of their free colored population, they have my free consent that this government should pay them, out of these proceeds, ANY sum of money adequate to that end."

Here we have no idle professions of sympathy for the free blacks, subjected by our own prejudices and cruelty to poverty, ignorance, and degradation,—no visionary, but benevolent predictions of their regeneration, on being transferred from a land of Bibles and churches to the darkness and heathenism of Africa,—no sickly, puerile sentimentality about the diffusion of the arts and sciences and the light of Christianity throughout a benighted continent, by sending to it "a horde of miserable wretches"—"of all classes of our population," to use the language of Mr. Clay, "the most vicious, who contaminated themselves, extend their vices to all around them." With a boldness and directness of purpose well calculated to conciliate southern electors, he assumes that the free blacks are a BURDEN to the slaveholders, and offers his aid to RELIEVE them from it. He is ready to levy on the whole Union a tax of untold millions to transport this burden to any place in the wide world *they* may select, as best securing them from its noxious influence.

"To Greenland, Zembla, or the Lord knows where."

Of course, as the removal is to be effected by the federal government on a large scale, with unlimited funds at its command ; as the burden is to be deposited wherever the slaveholders please ; and as they *are to be relieved*, the transportation offered by the Massachusetts senator is to be compulsory, rivalling in moral turpitude the expulsion of the Moors from Spain and the Huguenots from France.

The legislation of both the free and slave states has long been directed to rendering the condition of the free blacks so intolerable as to coerce them into exile. But these people, with great firmness and pertinacity, cleave to their native land, and, in spite of their wrongs, are rising in education and respectability, and are attracting sympathy and friends. Their oppressors are now adopting the policy of presenting to them the alternative of exile or slavery. Various are the laws now in operation, and new ones are forging, to convert the free blacks into slaves. Until lately, laws of this description have been confined to the slave states. Illinois, in her late act for selling free negroes who come into her limits, has shown us to what a height of villany hatred to the free negro, united with friendship to the slaveholder, is capable of attaining ; for the very law thus perpetrating an accursed outrage on free citizens, guiltless of crime, accords to the slaveholder the privilege of driving his slave coffles over the soil of Illinois ! Now, this hatred to the free negro, this friendship to the slaveholder, the Colonization Society has been actively engaged in fostering, from the day of its organization to the present hour. If the reader thinks this assertion harsh and unjust, he is entreated to

study with deep attention the revelations made in this work. He will find that colonizationists have sedulously endeavored to screen American slavery, as a system, from all imputation of moral guilt; have been instant, in season and out of season, in holding up the free negroes as most pernicious and *dangerous* nuisances; and have hailed with applause execrable laws, aggravating their oppression, but accompanied with pecuniary appropriations for their banishment to Africa. Most truly may it be said, that the tender mercies of this scheme are cruel; for most cruel is the constant effort to excite hatred to the free negro, and a morbid apprehension of *danger* from his presence. Let the reader solemnly ask himself, even admitting a removal to Africa may be advantageous to some emigrants, how far a good end can sanctify unholy means, and how far he can countenance the means used by the society consistently with his obligations to God and man.

August, 1853.

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ORIGIN, CHARACTER, AND INFLUENCE OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

THE object of this work is to bring together an array of facts in regard to the real character and influence of the American Colonization Society and its auxiliaries, from the origin of the parent society to the present date.

Such comments and explanations will of course be made, and such views presented, as may be deemed necessary to a clear comprehension of the subject.

The facts presented will be drawn almost entirely from official publications and reports of the society, speeches of its chosen orators, comments and views of its friends. Were it needful, a volume of a thousand pages could be filled with quotations of a similar character.

A candid and earnest examination of the subject, a fair, honest judgment, and an action in accordance with that judgment, are all we ask.

The Colonization Society claims a high rank among the philanthropic movements of the day ; but, in reality, its highest idea of philanthropy toward the colored man (the class it especially professes to regard) is to mark him as

the Pariah of our American civilization, to degrade him here, and *send him to Africa that we may be rid of his unwelcome presence*. It has great solicitude for the colored man *in Africa*, but helps to crush him at home ; obeying in that respect the deceptive influence of the prejudice slavery has created. It claims to be a "great missionary enterprise" toward Africa, but cannot say to America, "Physician, heal thyself," in view of the abuse and oppression heaped upon the colored man in our country.

Slavery it apologizes for, and even defends, as we shall see ; the idea of liberty for all it repudiates, if the slave have a right, when freed, to remain here ; the antislavery movement in our country is the object of its hostility.

The society, in short, was founded, has been, and is, controlled by slave owners and the enemies of the colored race ; has ever been governed by compromising expediency ; has succeeded by a deceptive course in enlisting the aid and sympathy of those of widely differing character : with insidious care and ceaseless industry its leading advocates have spread far and wide false ideas, helping to deceive the nation, to crush the colored man, to throw obstacles in the way of the triumph of freedom.

If, in proving these and other charges, we are compelled to be severe, it shall be simply the severity of Truth. Our business is with principles, or rather want of them, in this scheme of colonization — with men, so far as they help Error to a longer life.

Doubtless there are those who support the colonization movement honestly, not informed as to its real character and spirit. When we remember that even CLARKSON and WILBERFORCE hailed the American Colonization Society as a noble enterprise, and for years supported it, there need be no marvel that able and honest men are deceived by its misrepresentations ; and when we know that the intrepid Clarkson pronounced its schemes "diabolical,"

and that one of the last acts of the public life of Wilberforce was to sign a protest against it, none should hesitate to examine carefully, and give a fearless verdict.

Let the question be clearly understood and fairly met. No objection is offered against colored men going where they please to better their condition. Their right to emigrate should be defended as strenuously as their right to remain here and be treated as men; but let them go independently of this society or its colony.

But the Colonization Society says to them, "Go to Africa! there you can be men; but stay here and your manhood shall be dwarfed, crushed beneath a prejudice which is an "ordination of Providence, no more to be changed than the laws of nature," — libelling God and man alike, by saying that the good Father has ordained that a part of his family shall ever hate the presence of another portion, and that white Americans shall ever "mark the people of color, bond or free, as subjects of a degradation inevitable and incurable," while they remain here.

Let none be diverted by statements, true or false, of Liberian prosperity. Granting even that a few thousand colored persons are prospering and improving in that colony; if this has been accomplished at the terrible cost of defending the right of the slave owner to his "sacred" property in man, of opposing immediate emancipation, of striving to make more bitter a prejudice which degrades millions here, all must admit that too sadly precious a price has been paid for Liberian prosperity.

We have room enough in our broad land for twenty fold our present population. Every industrious laborer gives valuable aid in developing new resources of wealth. Hosts of European emigrants come here, and the paths of preferment are as free to them as to the native American.

The Colonization Society would remove the free colored population from the country. What folly! Were every

slave free to-day, their labor would be needed, their removal a calamity. Why colonize or expatriate the colored people, bond or free? "Whom we have injured we hate." Keeping up the delusive idea that the colored man is "a curse and contagion," makes it seem needful to keep him under the restraint of slavery, helps to perpetuate the system. Thus the society does the work of its masters.

Suppose an association had been formed in England a few years since, composed of distinguished noblemen, eminent divines, and wealthy merchants, to aid in colonizing the Irish to America or elsewhere, with their own consent. Taking into account poverty, crowded population, and unjust legislation, all rendering it difficult to gain a livelihood in Ireland, this might have appeared a benevolent scheme. As the prevailing spirit of the society revealed itself in its reports and the speeches of its leading members, suppose it had said of the Irish, "of all classes the most vicious,"—"a large mass of human beings who hang as a vile excrescence on society,"—"an anomalous race of beings, the most depraved upon earth,"—"the habits, the feelings, the prejudices of society, (prejudices which reason, nor education, nor *religion itself* can subdue,) mark the Irish as subjects of a degradation inevitable and incurable,"—"we do not ask that the provisions of our constitution or statute book shall be so modified as to exalt or relieve the condition of the Irish; let those provisions stand in all their rigor to work out their ultimate and unbounded good,"—"emancipation for Ireland, with liberty for the Irish to remain on this side of the Atlantic, is an act of dreamy madness." The rank and wealth of those who should utter such sentiments would not shield them from stern rebuke and keen ridicule, aimed at their shallow pretence of philanthropy, used to cover, but too transparent to hide, their hatred of the Irish. Yet all these sentiments have been uttered by eminent colonizationists in regard to the free colored people of our country!

Colonization reports and addresses have ever been full of professions of regard for the colored man ; *in Africa*, holding up the idea, that there was his place of refuge ; but no earnest and repeated protests against his abuse and degradation here. No ; that was an ordination of Providence. It were impious to act against the will of the Almighty !

To the eye of the colonizationist it may truly be said of the negro, " 'Tis distance lends enchantment to the view." Place him in Liberia, where the Atlantic rolls its insurmountable barrier against his return, and he becomes *a man*, with a sacred halo of rights about his person. Look at him in America, he is *only a negro*, fit subject for jeers or outrageous abuse, of which he must say, like Shylock of old, —

" All which I bore with patient shrug,
For sufferance is the badge of all our tribe."

Others whom we esteem we delight to have with us, to enjoy their society ; but the regard of the colonizationist for the colored man increases as its object is more distant, and so soon as he goes to Africa, that feeling which chilled into repulsive dislike in his presence, warms into the pure glow of a self-sacrificing affection — a singular psychological phenomenon, worthy the attention of learned and curious investigators.

But it may be said, that men of high repute and excellent character in private life are colonizationists ; that eminent divines and statesmen take active part in the movement ; that a great multitude of the men and women of the country look upon it with favor. One of the sad results of the existence of slavery is the creation of a wide-spread prejudice, which makes the presence of the colored man disagreeable if he ask to be treated *as a man*. It is easier to talk about sending him to Africa than to

conquer this prejudice. So the colonization scheme becomes popular, seems philanthropic, is not rigidly scrutinized, passes as a great benevolent plan, and answers the purpose in the hands of its proslavery controllers, of apologizing for slavery, or treating it as an evil to be perhaps abolished at some distant day, when all the slaves can be transported to a "happy distance." Truly does Mrs. Stowe say, in the *Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin*, "Slavery will not be much annoyed by the expressed expectation that it is to die somewhere about the millennium."

As to what eminent divines and statesmen are doing and have done for colonization, the events of the past twenty years show plainly how those in high position, awed by the overshadowing presence of the slave power, compromise honor and manliness sadly enough.

Although there may be those who give themselves up to serve falsehood, we will not believe that this cruel prejudice is to be invincible or everlasting in the minds of the people, although so deeply seated that it cannot speedily be destroyed. The tears that coursed down many a cheek while reading, in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, the story of the gentle Eva laying her white hand on the head of Topsy, and making the poor outcast feel, by sweet and gentle words, that kind affection could reach even her, were so many evidences of prejudice melting into sympathy; those sympathies must slowly crystallize into principles, and then the Colonization Society and its auxiliaries will cease to exist.

A great conflict is going on in our country; a moral warfare between freedom and slavery. The idea that slavery is a sin against God, a treason to humanity, that no compromise should be made with its upholders, that unconditional and immediate emancipation is the right of the slave, the duty and highest interest of the master, the way of salvation for the nation from this giant crime is

taking deeper hold of the hearts of the people. As the growing strength of antislavery is felt more and more, the slave power rouses itself to new and stronger efforts.

The Colonization Society starts into new life along with proslavery "compromises," ready to aid in schemes of proscriptive legislation against the colored people,—fierce exhibitions of the old hatred born of slavery,—to offer its illusive schemes for ridding the land of their presence, to make slavery stronger by helping to degrade the race in bondage. Politicians making bids for southern favor go into colonization meetings to make speeches, divines *facing southward* pray for the success of this "holy cause," pretended lovers of the Union tell how the society offers a common ground on which all can stand without sectional prejudice.

How the Colonization Society has been controlled by slaveholders; how it has made its appeals to fear, and prejudice, and kindly feeling, to gain aid from all classes and all sections of the country; how it has cast aside principle, and been governed by compromising expediency; how impracticable and cruel are its plans, we shall endeavor to show in the course of this work. What is the light in which the colored people view it is also a matter of interest, since it claims to be *the* benevolent enterprise of the day toward them. Their opinions shall be given.

Twenty years since, WM. LLOYD GARRISON wrote his "Thoughts on African Colonization," which did much at that time to call attention to the real character of the movement. In 1835, an excellent work by WILLIAM JAY, an "Inquiry into the Nature and Tendency of the American Colonization and American Antislavery Societies," was published. Many suppose that since then the society has changed its character, and a compendium of facts of a later date seems highly necessary. Wishing to show the career of the society from the first, we have given

facts of an early date to show under what influences it originated, and what were its early developments—those of a later date to show that its spirit and purpose are unaltered. The attention of every reader is *especially solicited* to the protest signed by WILBERFORCE and other eminent English philanthropists against the society, and also to the valuable letter of THOMAS CLARKSON, giving his views of its character, both of which will be found near the close of the work.

ORIGIN OF THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

IN the twelfth Annual Report of the New York Colonization Society is the following in regard to the origin of the colonization movement: "A spirit of fierce and uncompromising hostility has persecuted this blessed cause through a course of years, and employed against it, with untiring zeal, every weapon which subtlety and ingenuity of opponents could devise. This has led many Christian minds to a reëxamination of the whole enterprise of African colonization to inquire into its origin, ascertain its genius, and examine its results, as far as its progress has developed them. . . . Notwithstanding all the opprobrium so gratuitously thrown upon it, the friends of this cause can find ground of confidence in the stability and success of the colonization enterprise from the very spirit in which it originated.

"It was not prejudice against color — it was not desire that slaves might be held more securely by the removal of the free blacks from among them, nor that the price of those in bondage might be enhanced by the emancipation of some of their number. It was not for political or commercial purposes. These were not the motives; *this was not* the spirit in which the enterprise of African colonization originated.

"The first great conception of the scheme was formed by the devout, benevolent DR. FINLEY; and no one can contemplate the workings of his holy mind when originating this plan, without a subduing, an almost sublime impression of the purity of his motives, of the exalted sympathies and the lofty and expansive philanthropy that swayed him.

He yearned in Christ-like compassion over the hapless colored man, and groaned and travailed for his social, political, and religious redemption. The fire that burned in his own bosom soon caught and kindled in others, and he drew to his aid kindred high-born spirits. The cries of S. J. MILLS ascended to heaven for this cause, and his heart beat high in aspirations for its success, just before he retired from this world to his rest in glory. Colonization *originated* in the counsels, the prayers, the tears, the hopes, and holy desires of a group of patriotic, humane, philanthropic *Christian* minds, that would add dignity to any nation that could claim them as her citizens and sons. In its very commencement this work seems to have been of God, and it is not to be overthrown by the capricious jostlings of every wind of doctrine, or wayward burst of popular feeling. Faith and prayer, confidence and hope in God, have grafted it from the first 'into the good olive tree' — have rooted and grounded it in those immutable principles of truth and right, which will secure its vitality and growth when exotics by its side shall have withered and passed away. . . . This scheme from the first has appealed to the calmer, loftier, and more enduring principles of our nature, and has anchored its convictions in *reason* and *conscience*, instead of enlisting fancy and fanatical excitability."

This extract gives a fair and eminently religious aspect to the matter, and is a good specimen of the boldness of assertion and lofty flight of imagination sometimes found in the writings and speeches of colonizationists. It is well adapted to the feelings of a class of people who love to see whatever falls in with their prejudices baptized as of holy origin.

We will turn to a few historical matters of fact, as to the origin of the scheme of African colonization.

In a memorial to the legislature of Virginia, commend-

ed to special attention by R. W. Bailey, Agent American Colonization Society for Virginia, (see *Appendix 32d Ann. Report Am. Col. Soc.*, 1849,) are the following statements : " Among the evils that are contingent to slavery may be reckoned *a large class of free colored persons*, the descendants of slaves, constituting a *lower caste* in society, and yet above the slaves. . . . This evil was early contemplated. . . . Mr. Jefferson, as early as 1777, proposed to the legislature of Virginia, to be incorporated into the revised code of the state, a plan for colonizing the free colored population. This is the earliest conception distinctly announced of a plan for African colonization. Dr. Thornton, a native of Virginia, and resident of Washington, attempted ten years afterward to form a colony of free blacks to emigrate and establish a colony on the coast of Africa." Both these plans failed at the time, owing to war and want of means. The memorial states also that in 1800 the Virginia legislature took action on the subject, and again in 1816, and says, " Although eminent and good men from other states were concerned in the construction of this noble society, and to the honored name of FINLEY is correctly attributed the principal instrumentality in its actual organization, yet the mighty conception may be found in Virginia, the "mother of states." These two statements, both from colonizationists, do not quite agree — the first seems adapted to a certain latitude, like an almanac ; history shows the last to be truest.

But from other sources we gain more information as to the early movements in Virginia. In the *New York Gazette of Oct. 2d*, 1800, is an extract from a letter of a gentleman in Virginia to a friend in New York, dated Sept. 21st, vouched for by the editor as from "a *highly respectable source*," giving an account of an extensive conspiracy among the negroes. The writer says, "By this time you

have no doubt heard of the conspiracy formed in this country by the NEGROES, which but for the interposition of Providence would have put the metropolis of the state, and even the state itself, into their possession. A dreadful storm, with a deluge of rain, which carried away the bridges and rendered the water-courses every where impassable, prevented the execution of their plot. It was extensive and vast in its design. Nothing could have been better contrived. The conspirators were to have seized on the magazine, the treasury, the mills, and the bridge across James River. They were to have entered the city of Richmond in three places with fire and sword, and to have commenced an indiscriminate slaughter — the French only excepted.

“They were then to have called on their fellow negroes and the friends of *humanity* throughout the continent, by proclamation, to rally to their standard. . . . Never was there a more propitious season for the accomplishment of their purpose.

“The country is covered with a rich harvest of Indian corn, the flocks and herds are fat in the fields, and the liberty and equality doctrine (nonsensical, dangerous, and wicked as it is, in this land of tyrants and slaves) is, for electioneering purposes, sounding and resounding throughout valleys and mountains.

“The city of Richmond and the circumjacent country are in arms, and have been for the ten or twelve days past. The patrollers are doubled throughout the state, and the governor, impressed with the magnitude of the danger, has appointed for himself three *aides-de-camp*! A number of the conspirators have been hung, and a great many more are yet to be hung. The trials and executions are going on every day.”

How much the fears of the slaveholders magnified the real danger it is not possible to know, but evidently there was a

wide-spread feeling of insecurity. This conspiracy was discovered in the fall ; and the *ensuing session of the legislature* it was resolved, "That the governor be requested to correspond with the president of the United States on the subject of purchasing lands, without the limits of this state, whither *persons obnoxious to the laws, or dangerous to the peace of society, may be removed.*" What "persons" were meant can easily be judged in view of the late conspiracy.

The ambiguity of the expression used was such as to render its exact meaning somewhat doubtful ; and at the *next session* of the legislature, it was resolved, "That the governor be requested to correspond with the president of the United States for the purpose of obtaining a place without the limits of the same, to which *free negroes and mulattoes*, and such as may be emancipated, *may be sent*, or choose to remove to, as a place of asylum."

In 1803, Judge Tucker, of Virginia, an able and distinguished man, made public a plan for the abolition of slavery, "without the emancipation of a single slave, without depriving any man of the property he possesses, and without defrauding a creditor who has trusted him on the faith of that property." His project was to declare all female slaves born after a certain date free. An important part of the plan — as showing the feeling toward the free colored men, even in the mind of one of the best and most humane men of that day — was, that no free black should be capable of holding any office, of holding real estate, keeping arms, serving as a witness against a white man, making a will, acting as executor, or maintaining any action in a suit at law.

Reasons for the restrictions he gives as follows: "Although I am opposed to the banishment of negroes, I wish not to encourage their future residence among us. By denying them the highest privileges which civil gov-

ernment affords, *I wish to render it their inclination and their interest to seek those privileges in some other climate.*"

In the legislature of 1805, the representatives in Congress were instructed to endeavor to obtain "a territory in Louisiana, to be appropriated to the residence of such people of color as have been, or shall be, emancipated in Virginia." *

The next year the legislature passes a law that every slave thereafter manumitted should leave the State within a year, or be again made a slave. In 1816 a resolve was introduced into the Virginia legislature, by Mr. CHARLES F. MERCER, and adopted almost unanimously, asking aid of Congress to procure in Africa, or elsewhere, beyond the limits of the United States, a territory "to secure as an asylum for such persons of color as are now free, and may desire the same, and for those who may be hereafter emancipated within this commonwealth."

Mr. Mercer states, that the resolution was introduced *prior, but with a view to* the formation of the American Colonization Society. (Af. Rep. xi. 266.) A pamphlet published in Washington, in 1817, giving an account of the formation of the society, says, "Believing that the Virginia legislature had entered upon this subject with a spirit and determination to prosecute the measure proposed, and desirous of producing a more general and simultaneous feeling and movement in aid of this object by calling the attention of the general government to the subject, a meeting was appointed."

The meeting was held Dec. 21st, 1816; Henry Clay presided, and on taking the chair, said the object of the meeting was "to consider the propriety and practicability of colonizing the free people of color in the United States, and of forming a society for that purpose." After speak-

* These proceedings were all in *secret sessions* of the legislature.

ing of the condition of the colored people, he said : "Can there be a nobler cause than that which, while it proposes to rid our own country of a useless and pernicious, if not a dangerous portion of its population, contemplates the spreading of the arts of civilized life, and the possible redemption from ignorance and barbarism of a benighted quarter of the globe!"

John Randolph, of Virginia, also declared, "this meeting does not in any wise affect the question of negro slavery, but as far as it goes, *must materially tend to secure the property of every master in the United States over his slaves.*"

On the 28th Dec. a second meeting was held, and the constitution adopted: and on the 1st of January, 1817, a third, at which the officers were chosen, and the society fully organized, commenced its career with a slaveholder — Judge Washington, of Virginia — as president, twelve of its seventeen vice-presidents from the south, and all its twelve managers, it is said, slaveholders. How much the president was engaged in the scheme as one of philanthropy, may best be judged by the fact, that although he wrote a letter to the society, in which he said "we may fairly hope it will lead to the sure but gradual abolition of slavery," (Af. Rep. vii. 20,) yet in another published letter, he said, that learning his slaves thought, as he was nephew to Gen. Washington and a president of the Colonization Society, he would free them, he called them together, and after stating to them what he had heard, assured them he had no *intention to give freedom to any of them.* This occurred in 1821; and shortly after, *fifty-four* of his slaves were transported — not to Liberia, but into the hands of a slave dealer for the New Orleans market.

At a meeting of the Virginia Colonization Society, in 1836, (Auxiliary to Am. Col. Soc.) Rev. Mr. Plumer said, "The plan of colonizing the free blacks, and such as

might be made free, originated *here* — the principles of the the society are Virginia principles," (Af. Rep. xii. 67 ;) and another gentleman remarked, "I acknowledge we are indebted to New England for many good things, most of all for the excellent men who have become identified with our interests, and imbued with our principles, (that is, no doubt, have *become slaveholders*,) and form such valuable members of society among us. But we have never received from New England *any thing so valuable as our colonization principles*. These are a portion of the inheritance we have derived from our fathers." (Af. Rep. xii. 114.)

Comment is needless, as all can compare the rhapsody on the first page of this chapter with the simple facts cited to show the real influences predominant in the formation of the society.

We would not deny the philanthropy of some of its advocates, or cast an imputation on the devotedness and excellence of Mills or Finley ; but the best of men may be drawn into projects which carry a fair aspect, but are used for evil designs. It is a singular fact that no prominent colonizationist, known as an officer and leading spirit in the movement, has as yet set the example of giving freedom to his own slaves for the purpose of letting them go to Liberia, or any where else, during his lifetime. If such has been the case, we have not been able to ascertain after diligent inquiry.

The object of the society, in the first two articles (and the only articles stating or relating to its object) of the constitution, is as follows : —

"Art. I. This society shall be called the American Society for colonizing the Free People of Color of the United States.

"Art. II. The object to which its attention is to be *exclusively* directed, is to promote and execute a plan for colonizing (with their consent) the free people of color

residing in our country, to Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient. And the society shall act to effect this object in coöperation with the general government, and such of the states as may adopt regulations on the subject." The constitution has no preamble setting forth its motives, nothing by which it can be judged whether they are philanthropic or selfish, humane or cruel; and this seems specially devised to allow and induce all classes to engage in its plans.

As Mr. JAY has remarked, with much force, (Inquiry, p. 12,) "It has secured the coöperation of three distinct classes.

"First, such as desire sincerely to afford the free blacks an asylum from the oppression they suffer here, and by their means to extend the blessings of Christianity and civilization to Africa, and who at the same time flatter themselves that colonization will have a salutary influence in accelerating the abolition of slavery. Secondly, such as expect to enhance the value and security of slave property, by removing the free blacks; and thirdly, such as seek relief from a bad population without the trouble or expense of improving it."

This purpose has been well answered; but as each member needs the coöperation of all, *principle must be compromised to gain it.*

Some sharp-tongued talker has said, "Compromise is the American devil." The Colonization Society furnishes an illustration of the ruinous results of tampering with this domestic fiend — slaveholders have swayed it, and men filled with prejudice against the negro, hating the very presence of those "guilty of a skin not colored like their own," have made it a means of crushing and degrading the colored man in our country.

TERMS OF THE PARTNERSHIP. — DISCLAIMS HOSTILITY TO SLAVERY.

ALTHOUGH the exclusive object of the Colonization Society is declared in its constitution to be the voluntary colonizing of free people of color, and that declaration is repeated by its adherents, yet so frequent are the apologies for slaveholders, the assertions that it is not hostile to slavery, in its annual reports and the speeches of its prominent advocates, that one might suppose the original and exclusive object lost sight of in a zealous effort to maintain a good reputation with the upholders of the "peculiar institution," and remove any *suspensions* that their scheme might tend to render slaveholding less reputable and religious in the eyes of men.

Having an "*exclusive object*" in view, it cannot, of course, turn aside from that object to utter a free brave word in favor of the right of the slave, *as a man*, to his liberty. No, that were unconstitutional; and slaveholders in such cases are "strict constructionists"; but there is no trouble in turning aside to say many a word, neither free nor brave, in favor of the right of the master to his property, and in denunciation of the antislavery movement; it is not unconstitutional at all.

In the preliminary meeting, just before the adoption of the constitution, a distinguished slaveholder (Henry Clay) said, "It was not proposed to consider any question of emancipation, or that was *connected* with the abolition of slavery. It was only on *that condition*, he was sure, that many gentlemen from the south and west, whom he saw present, had attended, or *could be expected to coöperate.*"

Thus early were the *only terms* of the guilty copartnership made known. It is true colonizationists are *permitted* to talk about the society as a means for the ultimate expatriation of the blacks, and the emancipation of the slaves, at a day indefinitely distant. This serves the purpose of gaining the confidence and the money of a certain class of good people, has no earnest purpose behind it, means nothing, none fear it, and serves well to keep up the prejudice against the enslaved race, so important to slavery.

The northern colonizationist says to the slaveholder, "When it may suit your pleasure or profit to grant freedom to your slaves and send them to Africa, we shall be most happy to aid in sending them across the Atlantic, for they are 'subjects of a degradation inevitable and incurable' here, and the society offers 'the only feasible plan' for their transportation; the free colored population we wish heartily to be rid of, and will see to it that they are so treated as to gain their 'voluntary consent' to go to Africa. But, gentlemen, rest assured we have no special hostility to slavery; it is an evil entailed on you by your ancestry, forced upon them by the British; we are not in favor of any visionary schemes of the abolitionists; we do not wish the slaves freed at once, with liberty to remain here; we shall defend your right to your property against all who would attack it." And the slaveholder replies, "Gentlemen, we are pleased with your spirit. Rest assured that when it may seem best to send our slaves to Africa, we shall be happy to accept your aid; but that will probably be at a distant day: and meanwhile we trust you will be governed by the same catholic spirit toward us as heretofore; that you will recognize and defend our right to property; that you will steadily refuse to take the initiative steps in any question of emancipation, or that is *connected* in any way with the abolition of slavery, leaving us to make the first move in any mat-

ter of that 'delicate nature,' as of course our position and intimate knowledge of the subject make it eminently proper we should. As to the abolitionists, we feel assured you look upon them as misguided fanatics ; and, so far as the free colored people are concerned, we agree cordially, for with us they are '*the most abandoned race on earth*,' and their removal would 'increase the usefulness and improve the moral character of those in servitude,' (N. C. Col. Soc. Af. Rep. iii. 67,) and for whom, being committed peculiarly to our care by the providence of God, we feel a special solicitude."

They strike hands, the Colonization Society is the result of the agreement, and SLAVEHOLDERS AND THEIR APOLOGISTS BECOME THE LEADING PARTNERS, although kind philanthropists are welcome to pity the hard lot of the negro here, paint glowing ideal pictures of his happiness and Christian graces on the coast of Africa, and rejoice at a time, in the vista of a bright but distant future, when slavery *may* be abolished, and its victims transported to a better land.

The object of this chapter is to show that in the early days of the society, and down to the present time, it has disclaimed hostility to slavery. This has *only been the inevitable result* of the original terms of this guilty partnership, embracing the slaveholders of the south and the professedly pious and humane of the north, banded together to serve "the American devil," by compromising the right of uttering one word of hearty rebuke of slavery, *and of course falling into its defence; for neutrality on this subject is impossible*—if the tide of proslavery influence be not stoutly buffeted, individual or society alike are swept away by its strong current.

At the first annual meeting of the society, in 1817, Henry Clay said, —

"Whilst he was up he would detain the society for a

few moments. It was proper again and again to repeat that it was far from the intention of the society to affect, *in any manner*, the tenure by which a certain species of property is held. He was himself a slaveholder; *and he considered that species of property as inviolable as any other in the country.* He would resist as soon, and with as much firmness, encroachments upon it as he would upon any other property which he held. Nor was he disposed even to go as far as the gentleman who had just spoken, (Mr. Mercer, of Virginia,) in saying he would emancipate his slaves if means were provided for sending them out of the country."

Other citations of a similar character will show that the society has maintained its evil ground with a consistency worthy a better cause, although in due time we shall show that in other respects it has been guilty of the most flagrant inconsistencies.

"It had been properly observed by the chairman, as well as by the gentlemen from this district, (Clay and Caldwell,) that there was nothing in the proposition submitted to consideration, which, in the smallest degree, touched another very important and *delicate* question, which ought to be left as much out of view as possible," (negro slavery.)

Mr. R. concluded by saying, that he had thought "it necessary to make these remarks, being a slaveholder himself, to show that, so far from being connected with the abolition of slavery, *the measure proposed would prove one of the greatest securities to enable the master to keep in possession his own property.*" (Speech of John Randolph, of Va., Second Annual Report.)

The following shows clearly the only basis on which such a movement can rest, and is approved and endorsed *officially* :—

"An effort for the benefit of the blacks, *in which all parts*

of the country can unite, of course must not have the abolition of slavery as its immediate object. Nor may it aim directly at the instruction of the blacks. In either case the prejudices and terrors of the slaveholding states would be excited in a moment, and with reason too, for it is a well-established point that the public safety forbids either the emancipation or general instruction of the slaves. . . .

"It (colonization) is an enterprise in which all parts of the country may unite. The grand objection to every other effort is, that it excites the *jealousies* and *fears* of the south. But here is an effort which the southern people are the first to engage in, and which numbers many of their most distinguished men among its advocates and efficient supporters." (Review of Reports of the Society, by *Christian Spectator*. Seventh Annual Report.)

How remarkable indeed that the Colonization Society has overcome that "grand objection to every other effort," and does not at all excite "the *jealousies* and *fears* of the south"!! Verily, it has the wisdom of the serpent, but not the harmlessness of the dove.

"The committee, to whom was referred the memorial of the American Colonization Society, have had the subject under consideration and now report: 'That upon due consideration of the said memorial, and from all other information which your committee has obtained, touching that subject, they are *fully satisfied* that no *jealousies* ought to exist on the part of this, or any other slaveholding state, respecting the objects of this society, or the effects of its labors.'" (Report of Committee of Delaware Legislature, Feb. 8, 1827.)

"The second objection may be resolved into this: that the society, under the specious pretext of removing a vicious and noxious population, is secretly undermining the rights of private property.

"This is the objection expressed in its full force; and if

your memorialists could for a moment believe it true in point of fact, they would never, *slaveholders as they are*, have associated themselves for the purpose of coöperating with the parent society. . . . It has always protested, and through your memorialists it again protests, that it *has no wish to interfere* with the delicate but important question of slavery. It has never, in a solitary instance, addressed itself to a slave. It has never sought to invade the tranquillity of the domestic circle, or the peace and safety of society." (Memorial of Auxiliary Col. Soc. of Powhatan to Virginia Legislature. Twelfth Ann. Rep.)

"This subject, he rejoiced to know, was *better understood*, and all began to see that it was *wiser and safer* to remove by colonization a great and otherwise insuperable barrier to emancipation, than to *act on the subject of emancipation itself*." (Speech of Mr. Key. Thirteenth Ann. Report.)

"Something he must be allowed to say as regarded the object the society was set up to accomplish. This object, if he understood it aright, involved *no intrusion upon property*, OR EVEN UPON PREJUDICE." (Speech of Mr. Archer, of Va. Fifteenth Ann. Report.)

"That the effort made by the society should be such as to unite all parts of the country, it was necessary to disclaim all attempts for the immediate abolition of slavery, or the instruction of the great body of the blacks. Such attempts would have excited alarm and jealousy, would have been inconsistent with the public safety, and defeated the great purpose of the society." (Speech of HERMANUS BLEECKER at Second Annual Meeting New York Col. Soc., 1831.)

"A *golden mean* will be pursued which, at the same time that it *consults the wishes* and respects the *prejudices* of the south, will provide for the claims of justice and Christianity, and avert the storms of a future desolation." (Speech

of L. Q. E. Elmer, Esq. First Ann. Report New Jersey Col. Society.)

"We hold their slaves, as we hold their other property, SACRED." (Speech of James S. Green, on some occasion.)

What admirable amity and unity of purpose! The slaveholder and his northern friends should sit down together, and sing the hymn

"Behold how blest a thing it is
For brethren to agree."

Mr. Key rejoices that "the subject is better understood," and that it is found "*safer and wiser* to remove a barrier to emancipation by colonization, than to *act on emancipation itself*," and Mr. Bleecker says, it is a "more wise policy to encourage emancipation by colonization!" Both disclaim abolition. What a delightful balm to the conscience of a slaveholder that it is unwise to *act*, by giving freedom to the poor victims of his cruelty; but wise and humane to send a few "nuisances" to Africa! With what persuasive blandness does Mr. Bleecker declare, that "the instruction of the great body of the blacks" would be "inconsistent with public safety, and defeat the great object of the society," and how quietly does Mr. Archer of Virginia remark, the society "involved no intrusion" *even on prejudice!*

How eminently calculated to perpetuate slavery must such a society be, administering such consolation to the slaveholder, and declaring that "All emancipation, to however small an extent, which permits the persons emancipated to remain in this country, is an evil which would become *intolerable* if extended to the whole, or even a large part of the black population." (First Annual Report.)

But we proceed with the testimony of colonizationists.

"Nothing has contributed more to retard the operations of the society than the mistaken notion that it inter-

feres directly with slavery. . . . An enlightened community now see that this society infringes upon no man's rights, that its object is noble and benevolent ; to remedy an evil felt and acknowledged at the north and the south ; to give the free people of color the privileges of freemen." (Tract issued by Massachusetts Col. Society, in 1831, for distribution.)

"They are themselves chiefly slaveholders, and live with all the ties of life binding them to a slaveholding community. . . . The managers could with no propriety depart from their original and avowed purpose, and *make emancipation their object*. And they would further say, that *if they were not thus restrained by the terms of their association* they would still consider any attempts to promote the increase of the free colored population by manumission *unnecessary, premature, and dangerous*." (Memorial of the Society to the several States. Af. Rep., xi. p. 58.)

"The rights of masters are to remain sacred in the eyes of the society. The tendency of the scheme, and one of its objects, is, to secure slaveholders and the whole southern country against certain evil consequences growing out of the threefold mixture of our population." (Address of Rockbridge, Va., Col. Soc. Af. Rep., iv. 274.)

"Your rights, as guarantied by the constitution, are held sacred in our eyes ; and we should be among the foremost to resist, as a flagrant usurpation, any encroachment upon these rights. . . . Do we not all regard this mixed and intermediate population of free blacks, as a mighty and growing evil, exerting a dangerous and baneful influence on all around them?" (Address of Cyrus Edwards, Esq., of Ill. Af. Rep., vii. 100.)

"*It condemns no man because he is a slaveholder*. . . . It sends abroad no influence to disturb the peace and endanger the prosperity or *security* of any portion of the coun-

try." (Character and Influence of Col. Soc. Af. Rep., vii. 194, 200.)

What special care on the part of these advocates of colonization to declare that it "seeks to affect no man's property." In our land of professed republicanism are three million and a half of human beings, held as slaves; the chivalry of the "Old Dominion" receive millions annually as the price of the bodies and souls of fathers sold from their sons, mothers separated from their daughters, beautiful women consigned to live of agony and infamy in the distant south — the crack of the whip, sinking deep into the flesh, and the agonized shrieks of the poor victims of cruelty may be heard almost beneath the walls of many a church wherein the minister tells how "Jehovah has stereotyped domestic slavery with the seal of his approbation;" many a Legree crushes the hopes and deadens the feelings of his "chattels" beneath his brutal sway; and for the system out of which grew all these evils, and many more whose name is Legion, the Colonization Society has no word pregnant with meaning, no voice of rebuke indignant and earnest. No — it can only say, "it condemns no man because he is a slaveholder;" and its eminent defender only calmly declares, "it seeks to affect no man's property!" The hearts of strong men swell in agony of despair as they think of liberty — God's birthright to all, priceless and inalienable — women of queenly beauty and delicate feelings pray with sorrow, too deep for tears, for a lot where all the rich graces of womanhood shall cease to be only pearls cast beneath the feet of beasts in human shape, and trodden out of sight.

Thousands brave the perils of the forests, the fangs of keen hunger, the attack of wild beasts, the fangs of the bloodhound, the refined cruelties of the slave catcher, and travel on, on, week after week, in the silence of night, toward the north star, weary and worn, leaving their

footprints marked in blood at every step, until they find shelter in a foreign land from our national despotism; the Colonization Society in its official memorial to the states, can only say, "it should consider any attempts to promote the increase of the free colored population by manumission *unnecessary, premature and dangerous*;" that it would willingly transport manumitted slaves to Africa, but that meanwhile, due regard must be had to "the feelings, the fears, even the prejudices of those (slaveholders) whose coöperation is essential!!"

But it may be said, the Colonization Society has a good object, and cannot depart from that to advocate sentiments on this subject, however good. We answer that if it can *constantly turn aside* to apologize for slaveholders, to declare emancipation premature and dangerous, then it can equally turn aside to rebuke the system, and raise its faithful warning. This it does not do—it can turn towards slavery, not towards freedom. This only shows "what manner of spirit it is of,"—that slavery and prejudice possess and rule it,—and that those who are kind, sincere and benevolent, and support its schemes, are deluded, led to sustain evil.

"It would be as humane to *throw them from the decks in the middle passage*, as to set them free in our country." (Af. Rep., iv. 226.)

"We believe there is not the SLIGHTEST MORAL TURPITUDE in holding slaves under existing circumstances at the south." (Af. Rep., ix. 4.)

"But I go further: as I understand the Epistle to Timothy, and as it is understood by such commentators as I have consulted, there is an express injunction, applicable to those times and circumstances, *not to preach manumission*." (Address of S. M. Hopkins, President Geneva, N. Y., Col. Soc., published by request of Society.)

"With these preliminary views we now return to ultra

abolition as already defined, and to prove that the Bible does recognize *property in man*, under certain circumstances, we refer to the *Old and New Testaments throughout*, in which we shall find the following *undeniable facts abundantly sustained* : 1st. That slavery in some form which recognized property in man has always existed since the days of the patriarchs. 2d. That God has not only permitted its existence, but legislated for its abolition in some cases, and *for its perpetuity in others*.

“3d. That the precepts of the Old and New Testaments are addressed both to masters and slaves, and this relation, so far from being disturbed, was fully recognized.

“4th. That the rights of the master or owner of slave property are acknowledged by the divine law.” (Af. Rep., xii. 375.)

How quietly it is declared “there is not the slightest moral turpitude” in holding God’s children as property ! The defence of slavery on scriptural ground is a characteristic of the deadliest foes of the slave, those who seek to baptize the institution that crushes him as of holy origin.

“*In no sense whatever* does the *genius* of this institution interfere with the legal relation of master and servant.

“It recognizes the constitutionality of that relation, and the *providential arrangement by which it subsists*, but confines itself wholly to those whom Providence has made free and thus rendered eligible for emigration. Such are among us ; and who does not feel the *anomaly* of their presence, and desire, for their sakes as well as ours, their removal ?” (Letter of Rev. J. M. Pease to *Mobile Daily Advertiser*, N. Y. Col. Journal, Sept., 1851.)

In the August number of the same *Journal*, Mr. Pease being about to start on a tour in the interior of New York, is spoken of thus : “We cordially commend him to the sympathy and coöperation of all who approve our opera-

tions. If the pastors will but open their doors, we can assure them beforehand of the untiring attention of the audience."

"Was popularity his object? What was to prevent his going to the Tabernacle and there (in an antislavery meeting) receiving crowns of laurels that he never could win in the despised Colonization Society? That was the popular course, and why did he not take it in conjunction with JAY and TAPPAN? Because in his conscience he did not agree with it, *and he thought the continuation of the slavery of the black man was better than such freedom as they proposed to give him.*" (Speech of Rev. Dr. Tyng, Ann. Meeting N. Y. Col. Soc., 1851.)

The editor of the *Colonization Journal*, Rev. J. B. Pinney, says on this, "While the large majority of the colonizationists of the north highly disapprove of the violence of the means used by *ultra antislavery men* for the overthrow of slavery, it is not from a belief that even instant emancipation would be worse for the slave or master than their present relation, but from the belief that this violence is alike unjust and impolitic; that it retards rather than advances freedom; and that, if concurred in generally, it would destroy our peace and prosperity as a people, and involve us in a fratricidal war." Mr. Pinney evidently fears the antislavery fire on one side, and attempts to *gloss over* Dr. Tyng's statement; but he *fears* the proslavery fire on the other, and talks about "fratricidal war." He thinks a majority of northern colonizationists do not believe instant emancipation would leave slave and master any *worse off* than at present, but the measures of those who *do* suppose it would benefit *both*, must be disastrous, and "if concurred in generally would destroy our peace and prosperity."

If emancipation on the soil would *not* "be worse for master or slave," strange that its advocacy should lead to

such awful consequences ; in steering clear of the Scylla of abolition, Mr. Pinney plunges into the Charybdis of slavery. As to his word that abolitionists "retard rather than hasten the day of freedom," it smacks of the "Old Dominion ;" many a planter has said that, as he sat in his parlor, and called a slave to show his northern visitor his room, where he could dream of Virginia hospitality, and be roused at early dawn by the overseer's horn warning the "field hands" out to their daily task.

"The Colonization Society was formed to assist free colored people, *and only such* ; and *from its beginning disclaimed*, as a society, all interference with the question of slavery." (*N. Y. Col. Soc. Journal*, March, 1853, *editorial*.)

"The *policy* of this society is at once simple and *safe*. It exercises *all needed safeguards* for the *rights and interests of all concerned*. It *does not interfere with the relation of master and slave*." (Speech of Hon. R. W. Thompson of Indiana, Annual Meeting, 1849.)

It was well certainly for Mr. Thompson to talk of the "*policy* of this society," for *principle* has been cast to the winds long ago, and compromising expediency taken its place. The assurance that "all needed safeguards" will be exercised is peculiarly significant.

"The first supply of the population of Africa, dragged from their homes to gratify an unhallowed commercial cupidity by the promptings of avarice, were landed in the colony of Virginia in 1620, the same year in which the Puritan Pilgrims landed at Plymouth. This is a remarkable coincidence. The first advocates of a free Christianity and the first African slaves who touched our coast were landed the same year.

"In thus bringing together darkness and light, in mingling the lowest forms of Pagan ignorance and depravity with the highest development of Christian intelligence and integrity, it would seem that Divine Providence de-

signed to demonstrate to the world the capability of a free Christianity to *transform the grossest material of humanity into the most refined*, and thus to *prove the unity and natural equality of the human race.*" (Lecture on African Civilization in Hall of Ohio State House, Jan. 19, 1850, by D. Christy, Col. Agent for Ohio.)

It is evident to all, that this *design* is not yet fully accomplished, this "gross material" not yet the "most refined." And shall weak vain man ask that slavery shall cease at once, thus impiously seeking to frustrate the wise aims of Divine Providence?

The doings of a colonization convention, held in Washington in 1842, were published in the June and July number of the *Repository*. A speech of HON. J. T. MOREHEAD, U. S. Senator from Ky., has appended, in a note, extracts from the remarks made at the formation of the society in December, 1816, by Henry Clay and John Randolph, already quoted. There seems an *indorsement anew* of these ideas in their selection and publication.

"Colonel Stone (of the *N. Y. Commercial Advertiser*) then paid his respects to the abolition societies, of whom, he said, he would not speak harshly, as he ever made it a rule to tread lightly over the ashes of the dead. (Applause and laughter.) There had been their annual meeting held this week in our city, and 'our brother Abby' (Kelly) had been figuring there, with the well-known Garrison at her apron strings. . . . And, on the other hand, — for I see I am in for a speech after all! — [said Colonel S.,] what have the abolitionists in all this ten years of their existence accomplished? . . . To be sure . . . we aided in *stealing* here and there a slave or their masters, and have got them off to Canada; and this they could have done without making such a mighty noise about it!" (A laugh.) . . .

This was the closing speech of the meeting, and the report of the proceedings ends as follows : —

"This narration of this illustration of the practical operation of abolitionism was received by the auditory with shouts of laughter and applause, *in which the clergy joined heartily*. The *interesting* and amusing speech of Colonel Stone having been brought to a close, the resolution, seconded by him, as offered by Mr. Gurley, was unanimously adopted, *and the benediction being pronounced by Rev. Dr. Bangs*, the meeting was adjourned."

"We are not so much the better that slavery exists not among us, nor are our southern brethren to be deemed worse because it exists there, for the reason that *it has not its present dependence on our choice*; he thought the difference between the north and south was *providential and circumstantial*. It had its origin in prior ages, and therefore he had said the difference was only providential and circumstantial." (Rev. R. R. Gurley, Ann. Meeting N. Y. Col. Society. Af. Rep., July, 1850.)

An admirable mode of ignoring responsibility. Our brother, the king of Ashantee, is not specially worse because he makes slave-catching forays into peaceful villages, or piles up pyramids of human skulls around his palace; these usages had their origin "in prior ages," are deemed peculiarly needful to the order and prosperity of his majesty's realm, have not their "present dependence" on his "choice," are merely "providential and circumstantial."

It should be noticed that the disclaimers against emancipation, in the early stages of the colonization movement, were of course directed against *gradual emancipation*, for it was not until after 1830 that the idea of *immediate* emancipation was promulgated to any extent.

"The solution of the problem which these difficulties present is the *great question of the day*, and the abolition-

ists have made it so. They propose to solve it by emancipating the slaves wherever held, and changing the hearts and prejudices of the whites, until color ceases to be a mark of caste, and caste ceases to exist. The colonizationists propose to solve it, *leaving hearts and prejudices as they are*, by opening an outlet, through which, when the free colored people themselves shall feel the *necessity* of removal, they may emigrate to a home as free as this." (Address of J. H. B. LATROBE, N. Y. Col. Soc. Meeting, May, 1852.)

Here we have the testimony of the president of the American Colonization Society, that the abolitionists have made this problem of the rights and conditions of the enslaved race "the great question of the day." Truly an acknowledgment from a high source of the power of the antislavery movement. We are told too by the same high authority, that colonizationists propose to *leave hearts and prejudices as they are!*

"Slavery was not of voluntary adoption. . . . Introduced by authority of Great Britain, it was found at the period of our independence a constituent part of the body politic, was subsequently recognized by federal and state constitutions. . . . It is, therefore, politically and socially constitutional; yet, like all other things human and earthly, has its evils. . . . When introduced, they (our ancestors) sought to mitigate its evils to both races and make the institution if possible a blessing to each. How far this Christian effort has been faithfully and successfully pursued, we are willing our enemies themselves should tell the world, in the facts they are compelled to record, and out of which ages to come will form their estimate of our character. Let us leave all *feverish anxieties* on that subject and go boldly forward in the high duty imposed by Providence on us now." (Memorial to Va. Legislature, *indorsed* by R. W. Bailey, Agent Am. Col.

Soc. for Va. Thirty-second Ann. Report of Am. Col. Soc. Appendix.)

Slavery has its evils in the eyes of these Virginia colonizationists, but so have "all other things human and earthly," and they speak complacently of the "Christian efforts of the masters of the Old Dominion to 'mitigate' these evils, and make the institution, if possible, a blessing." No hostility to slavery there surely, and these views are indorsed *officially* by the American Colonization Society.

But let us turn to a later evidence — a speech of Henry Clay at Washington, at the annual meeting of the society in 1851, (Thirty-fourth Annual Report.) "I believe, and I have as much confidence in the belief as in my own existence, that the day will come, — distant, *very far distant*, perhaps, — but that the day will come, when, by voluntary emancipation, and the acts of individuals and the states themselves, without any usurpation of power on the part of the general government, there will be an end of slavery. . . . It is to the operation of *natural causes* to which I look for its ultimate extinction. . . . But it may be asked, what is meant by natural causes. I mean this. Some twenty years ago I went more at large, than I feel now at liberty to do, into this subject. I went into the *modus operandi* of these natural causes, by which, in a long time, I am of opinion there will be an extinction of slavery.

"There will be an extinction of slavery whenever the density of the population of the United States shall be so great, that free labor can be procured by those who want the command of labor at a cheaper rate, and under less onerous conditions, than slave labor can be commanded. . . . Whenever the time comes, as it will come, that our population shall be three or four times as great as at present, that the prices of labor, the wages of manual labor shall be so reduced that it will be too burdensome on the

part of the owners of slaves to raise them for the sake of the labor they perform, whenever it becomes *the interest* of the slave states and of the slaveholders to resort to another kind of labor than that which is furnished by slaves, — whenever that epoch comes there will be a termination of slavery. (Applause.) Now, gentlemen, I am not about, as I said before, to specify the time that this is going to happen. I cannot do it; but I would *repress if I could the impatience* of those who are unwilling to wait the slow operation of the means and instrumentalities which God and Nature furnish in order to accomplish the great purposes of his wisdom. (Applause.) . . . What, in a national point of view, is a century to a nation? Nothing.”

This distinguished colonizationist, addressing a large audience of the leaders in the movement assembled in the Capitol of the Union, says he believes with as great a confidence as he has in his own existence, that slavery will be abolished in this country, — when it becomes the interest of the slaveholders that it should cease, — and the statement is received with applause! This is colonization hostility to slavery!

Mr. Clay continues: —

“If we are told, in relation to one of the most intimate and important relations of life, (the relation of marriage,) — and it is always pronounced on the performance of that ceremony, — that whom God hath united let no man dare put asunder, I think I may with equal propriety say, — let those whom God has kept asunder by their physical condition, their constitution, their intellects, their natures, by circumstances on which it would not be fitting for me to dwell in this place, not be attempted to be united by any presumptuous human power.” (Applause.)

A stern rebuke of amalgamation; an old bugbear, much talked about. Some few years since Mr. Clay said that, in

a century, if slavery existed, "all complexional differences would cease." This, of course, would be the result of herding millions together, like the beasts that perish, and of a licentious amalgamation following the abrogation of all marriage ties. And yet this colonization audience could applaud both his rebuke of amalgamation, and his desire to restrain the impatience of those who could not wait the operation of natural causes for the abolition of a system which was destroying "all complexional differences" by this rapid and revolting process!

A good specimen of the consistency of those who are ever raising this bugbear cry while apologizing for slavery, which makes a mockery of purity, and one of the results of which is so well described in Mr. Clay's remark on "complexional differences."

Mr. Clay said too, on the same occasion, "As to law, (for abolition of slavery,) I believe I have had some experience on that subject in the state to which I belong. The question was very much agitated there during the year before last, and I am *very much reconciled* to the decision of my state, although it was contrary to my wishes; in that decision, however, I acquiesce, for I believe that no safe mode of gradual emancipation by law can terminate, in any one of the states, the existence of slavery much if any sooner than it would be terminated by the operation of *natural causes*." There were probably those present who did not agree with this idea of the speaker. No doubt there are colonizationists who would be glad to see laws passed by the states for the abolition of slavery. We quote this to show how proslavery sentiments are uttered on the platform of the society, and how they are received, applauded, or passed by in silence. One single free and faithful declaration, (and such might have been made with no greater departure from the *exclusive object* of the society than was involved in these sentiments,) that

slavery was a giant crime, and that duty demanded its abolition, would have raised a storm in that hall such as never raged there yet.

. . . . "We of the south cannot see any project contemplating the continued residence of the African population among us, which we regard as worthy of our attention. Nor can we see any project of emancipating them which we do not regard as *most disastrous to both races*. In the providence of God a number of these human beings have been confided to me, and the question has perpetually oppressed my conscience. I have wept and prayed before God, as I asked, what was to be the end of all this? In those states where there were but a few of these human beings, and where slave labor might be expensive, prospective laws were passed for the extinction of the institution. Those laws never will be passed in those states which lie far to the south. That is, their interest never will pass such laws, because upon the rich lands there slave labor will always be the cheapest and most profitable labor. Moreover, *society would be subverted by the manumission of such a vast multitude belonging to another race*. Here am I a Christian; I look to God in this matter, and to God alone. I have ceased from man long ago. If any thing be done it must be prompted by a Christian spirit and principle. . . . Your society, Mr. President, (Henry Clay,) as you remarked, distinctly recognizes the right of property at the south. You said, when you took the chair which you now fill, and which God grant you may long live to adorn, that it was only on this condition that Mr. Randolph, yourself, and others who have gone, gone away, were members. The rights of the south to the peculiar species of property to which reference is made, must not be touched. A great number of us at the south prefer to hold that species of property. Our rights must be held sacred. . . . People may

differ about the language of the Bible as to slavery, but no one can doubt the language of the Bible as to obedience to the laws. (Applause.) I repeat it, the rights of the south must be respected ; they must be held sacred. I say again, that if any thing be done for slavery, it must be done by the south." (REV. DR. FULLER, Ann. Meeting, 1851.)

Dr. Fuller declares, that the south must do whatever is done ; and says, that the states far south never will pass laws for the abolition of slavery, because their interest would be against such a move. He says he is a Christian ; admits, in another part of his address, that "slavery is not a good thing ;" and yet in stating that the people far south will never act against their interest by passing laws to abolish this system, "not good," wholly forgets the great weapon of the Christian — the sword of the Spirit of Truth. *Interest is omnipotent.* It is said, that as the noble MADAME ROLAND was being led to execution, in the days of the French revolution, looking around on the bleeding and murdered victims of republican vengeance, she exclaimed, "O Liberty, what deeds are done in thy holy name !" As one reads the pious declaration of this distinguished divine, "Here am I a Christian ; I look to God in this matter, and to God alone ;" and then his other declaration, "A great number of us at the south prefer to hold that species of property. *Our rights must be held sacred !*" — he will think of the sighs and groans daily going up to God from that terrible prison house of slavery, and exclaim, "O Christianity, what words of blasphemy are uttered in thy holy name !"

It may be said, that Dr. Fuller was not a member of the society, and declares he only spoke as an individual. He said, at the commencement of his address, that he felt their invitation to speak "to be a call from God to enlist his poor efforts at once in the cause of colonization ;" and when he took his seat, the next speaker, J. H. B. LATROBE,

said, "I have listened *with great pleasure to every thing* said by the gentleman who preceded me."

At the thirty-fifth anniversary of the society, Jan., 1852, in an address by the Hon. FREDERIC P. STANTON, of Tennessee, is the following passage:—

"The only remedy for this antagonism, which must exist so long as the races remain together, in my humble judgment, is *slavery*. Like the *alkali*, which causes the oil and water to combine, *slavery neutralizes* the antagonism of the whites and blacks for the *mutual interest of both*. I do not mean to say that 'slavery in the abstract' is right. I am not one of those who believe that slavery is either destined to be, or ought to be, perpetual. But I speak of the necessary and inevitable relations between the two races in a condition such as that which exists in the United States. The free black man in this country, deprived of social equality, and generally of political rights, is virtually a slave. I believe he assumes a level in society even lower than that of the slave."

Ingenuity has been taxed repeatedly in our country to give slavery smooth names, significant of any thing but robbery and wrong. The "peculiar institution" is the most common title. A distinguished gentleman, since minister at the Court of St. James, in a correspondence with a Virginian years ago, on subjects connected with the pecuniary and industrial interests of that state, felt compelled to allude to slavery, and not wishing to use a term that might grate harshly on the ear of the fastidious southerner, called it "unenlightened labor." A large ecclesiastical body, nine years since, in a vote relating to the peculiar position of a slaveholding bishop, called it an "impediment;" but it was reserved for the fertile genius of a distinguished colonizationist to make this great institution *all the same as an ALKALI*, a soothing medicinal prep-

aration working for the good of both classes of patients to whom it was, in some sort, administered !

Mr. Stanton is, we believe, one of the projectors and advocates of the proposed "Ebony Line" of steamers ; and we would suggest, that if said line should ever go into operation, the great facilities it will give for transporting colored people to Africa, and the consequent temptations offered to benevolent masters to manumit slaves for transportation, be under *careful* and *judicious* management, lest ill results might follow from the too sudden diminution of this sovereign "alkali," so essential to neutralize our " antagonisms."

Is not the proof evident, and abundant, that the Colonization Society IS NOT HOSTILE TO SLAVERY, and carefully disclaims such hostility?—only following the evil and inevitable necessity of an association originated under slaveholding influences, perpetuated by those same influences, and *used* as a means of deceit and treachery to the cause of the slave and the best and highest welfare of the nation ?

We close by an extract from the thirty-fourth annual report of the society. How fair a show the advocates of this scheme can assume, and how it contrasts with the real spirit of the movement, all can easily judge.

" We come to you, fellow-citizens, with this enterprise—the noblest yet devised by man for the good of his fellow-man, fraught with more precious hopes than any the world has seen since the Mayflower moored on the Rock of Plymouth. We come with it to you at your firesides and in your fields—when you bow down, morning and evening to offer up to heaven your thanksgiving for the rich and abundant blessings with which He has crowned your lot ; when your wife is at your side, and your children at your feet, your hearthstone bright with joy, and your

bosom warm with freedom and hope ; in the midst of your overflowing happiness, we plead with you for the homeless and the exiled. We appeal to you as freemen, to uphold a republic — as Christians, to send the light of your holy religion to a heathen continent — as men, to contribute something to wipe out the darkest spot that stains the annals of human misery.”

APOLOGIES FOR SLAVERY. — APPEALS TO FEAR AND INTEREST.

WE have seen that the American Colonization Society, ruled from the commencement by slaveholders and their supporters, a guilty partnership with a class of men who, from the necessity of their position, *must and will rule* those with whom they associate for any purpose connected with the condition of the people of color in our country, has always and does still disclaim all hostility to slavery.

One step in the career of compromise opens the way for another, and of course we must expect to see the society doing more for its slaveholding masters. In this we shall not be disappointed, and shall find that it apologizes for and defends the slaveholder, appeals to his interest and to the guilty fears of a prejudiced people to secure coöperation

Let us see the evidence on these points : —

“ A third point in which the first promoters of this object were united, is that few individual slaveholders can, in the present state of things, emancipate their slaves if they would. The relation is one which, where it exists, grows out of the very structure of society, and *for the existence of which the master is ordinarily as little accountable as the slave*. He (the planter) looks around him and sees that the condition of the great mass of emancipated Africans is one *in comparison with which the condition of his slaves is enviable*, and he is convinced that if he withdraws from his slaves his authority, his support, his protection, and leaves them to shift for themselves, he turns them out to be vagabonds, and paupers, and felons, and to find in the work-

house and the penitentiary the home which they ought to have retained on his paternal acres." (Address of Managers of Conn. Col. Soc., Af. Rep., iv. 119, 120.)

This comes from a northern source, and doubtless it was peculiarly gratifying to the planters to find that their brethren in New England thought them as little accountable as the slaves for the existence of slavery, and looked on them as kind guardians, keeping the colored people out of the workhouse by a parental care and authority. No slaveholder could fail to appreciate the fact that he could *manage* such "managers" to his own perfect satisfaction.

"*Policy* and even the *voice of humanity* forbade the progress of manumission; and the *salutary hand of law* came forward to coöperate with our convictions, and to arrest the flow of our feelings and the ardor of our desires." (Af. Rep., iv. 268.)

"With a writer in the Southern Review we say, 'The situation of the people of these states was not of their choosing. When they came to the inheritance it was subject to this mighty incumbrance, and it would be *criminal* in them to ruin or waste the estate to get rid of the burden at once.' With this writer we add also, in the language of Captain Hall, 'that the slaveholders ought not (immediately) to disentangle themselves from the obligations which have devolved upon them as masters of slaves.' We believe that a master *may* sustain his relation to the slave with as little criminality as the slave sustains his relation to the master. . . . Slavery, in its mildest form, is an evil of the darkest character. Cruel and unnatural in its origin, no plea can be urged in justification of its continuance but the plea of *necessity*." (Af. Rep., v. 327, 334.)

. . . . "They (abolitionists) confound the misfortunes of one generation with the crimes of another, and

would sacrifice both individual and public good to an *unsubstantial theory of the rights of man.*" (Af. Rep., vii. 200, 202.)

"I MAY BE PERMITTED TO DECLARE THAT I WOULD BE A SLAVEHOLDER TO-DAY WITHOUT SCRUPLE." (Fourteenth Annual Report.)

Suppose the declaration had been, "I would be an ABOLITIONIST to-day without scruple," — how would that have been received? Had it been said with as earnest a purpose as that which prompted these apologies, its author would have been proscribed, and the cry raised of departure from the *exclusive* object of the society.

Not only do we find the plea of the tyrant, *necessity*, used, but the general kindness of masters and the superiority of the condition of the slave under judicious guardianship, extolled. The *inevitable tendency* of the slaveholder's position is, to call his fierce passions into activity; it is the part of the truest kindness to him that he should see and feel his danger. But colonization advocates "leaving hearts and prejudices as they are," only tell of "the salutary hand of law," of "being slaveholder without scruple," of the "amiable" condition of the poor bondman as compared to the free black.

"The slaves of the south are, comparatively, not only a civilized people, but we doubt if, in the whole history of mankind, a single example can be adduced of a race of men, starting from such a depth of moral degradation and barbarism, and in a century and a half making so vast an advance in civilization. *This progress has been owing, as we believe, in no small part to the fact of their being slaves.*" (North American Review, Oct., 1851.)

How blind and remiss in duty are the civilized nations of the world, that they do not more faithfully labor to elevate the more degraded by enslaving as large a number as possible! England has now a clear duty toward Ire-

land ; she has but to reach a strong arm across the Channel and, enslave all the nation, and Ireland will rapidly become "redeemed and disenthralled" from her degradation. But alas ! Russia alone is going nobly forward in the path of duty, and, sad to say, even Czar Nicholas is losing, in some measure, his devotedness to the cause of slavery, and removing some of his serfs from beneath its ennobling influences !

The article in the *Review* quoted from was written with "particular reference" to the colonization question. One more extract : —

"We confess that we fear if one hundred and fifty years ago any large number of native Africans had been landed in New England, and left in their freedom to provide for themselves, that their descendants at this moment, if any existed, would be in a far more debased condition than if their fathers had been trained *up* from barbarism under the *restraints* of slavery. But while this is true, and while it *qualifies our regret* that slavery should have existed, *we have no idea of allowing ourselves to be regarded as its apologists or defenders.* We cannot doubt that sooner or later it (slavery) will be swept from the land. But whether emancipation will, *in any calculable period*, result in any decided good to whites or blacks, we think a much more unsettled point."

"In the first place they (the north) ought seriously to reflect that we of the south are not responsible for the introduction of the Africans into this country.

"They were introduced here in spite of the protests of many of the colonists. In the next place they ought to reflect that the African has been *vastly improved.* In point of comfort, I speak from personal observation when I say that with a kind master he is far better cared for, more comfortable, more happy, than most of the Euro-

pean peasantry." (Rev. Dr. Fuller, of Baltimore, thirty-fourth Ann. Meeting, 1851.)

But there are certain things, Dr. Fuller grants, which the south should admit. One is, that slavery impoverishes the state! another that the Scriptures should be taught to the slaves, and that it is a question whether "husbands and wives ought to be separated, whether labor ought to be received without compensation."

The first question he leaves untouched; perhaps has not given it that prayerful consideration its importance demands. Of the second he speaks thus:—

"In a conversation with the late Mr. Calhoun, he said to me that he thought we did pay fair wages to our slaves. *I do not go into the calculation, I do not go into the dollars and cents; it is the principle for which I am contending. Above all, to a generous mind perfect dependence is ever an irresistible plea for protection. Hence we will die for a woman. She is dependent upon us, and has a claim which no brave and generous man can resist.*

"I know no men more *generous* than our southern planters. They are quick of resentment, and *very justly indignant at the gross assaults of the abolitionists*, but *left to their own* free and generous impulses, they are the very men to admire and imitate Antoninus and other Roman emperors, who became guardians to the slaves, and exercised over them a paternal government."

Who can doubt, that after such an earnest appeal, wages at once will be paid to the great majority of those now despoiled of the fruits of their labor? A few planters of peculiarly high and noble natures may, perhaps, cling to the charm of "perfect dependence," and extend a fostering guardianship over their servants who plead so irresistibly for protection. It is due to Dr. Fuller to say that he is yet one of that number exercising a "paternal government" over servants, enough to assume the appellation of

“a large slaveholder,” *perhaps* preparing them for Liberia, although more probably waiting until Congress shall perform what, in another part of his speech, he calls the “sacred duty,” not “merely to deport, but to purchase, to redeem, the slaves of those who are willing to engage in an arduous, tedious, but most sublime undertaking.”

“As has been said by the reverend and eloquent gentleman who preceded me, (Rev. Mr. Slaughter of Va.,) African slaves were brought to the shores of this continent almost simultaneously with the first tread of a white man’s foot upon this *our* North America.

“We see in that, *our short-sightedness only sees*, the effect of a desire of the white man to appropriate to himself the results of the labor of the black man as an inferior and a slave. Now let us look at it. These negroes and all who have succeeded them, brought hither as captives taken in the wars of their own petty sovereigns, ignorant and barbarous, without the knowledge of God, and with no reasonable knowledge of their own character and condition, have come here, and here — although in an inferior, a subordinate, an enslaved condition — have learned more, and come to know more of their Creator and of themselves than all whom they have left behind them in their own barbarous kingdoms. . . . He has the lights of knowledge, he has the lights of Christianity, and he goes back (to Africa) infinitely more advanced in all that makes him a respectable human being than his ancestors were when they were brought from the barbarism of Africa to slavery in the United States. (Applause.) Gentlemen, the ways of Providence are dark and intricate. Our imagination traces them in vain.” (Speech of HON. DANIEL WEBSTER. Thirty-fifth Ann. Meeting, Washington, 1852.)

“The original sin of capturing slaves in Africa and bringing them here belongs to England, and there were remonstrances sent to her in vain from these states when

they were colonies, from the time of Saucy Bess to the impudence of the Stuarts and the dull conformity of the Georges. . . . In the New Testament there was a passage which enjoined slaves under the yoke to be obedient to their own masters; God had never, in the New Testament, ordered the slaveholders to give up their slaves. When Christianity commenced the world was remarkable for two things; one was idolatry, and the other was slavery. Why was there a difference made? Idolatry was strictly prohibited; slavery was not." (Speech of REV. S. H. Cox, D. D. Ann. Meeting, N. Y. Col. Society, 1851.)

In going through this long list of miserable and guilty apologies and defences of a system so fitly described as the "sum of all villanies" by a clergyman of the "olden time," one is constantly and sadly reminded how compromise with sin darkens and perverts the best and ablest minds. The whole colonization scheme, as conducted by the society and its advocates, is but a miserable game of policy and temporizing expediency; those who engage in it, if they do so passively, are only used as contributors to give their money and presence and names to further evil designs; if they work actively, take a leading part, become planners and executors, consistency must be cast aside, fidelity to freedom and right repudiated, oppression in its direst form apologized for, false argument used.

This endless *cant* about "the original sin" of England in forcing slaves on us is simply ridiculous. England forced other things on us, *and we would not keep them*; stamp acts were answered by riots, threepenny taxes on tea by the scenes in Boston harbor, and taxation without representation by the rattling musketry of Bunker Hill, and the roar of cannon from Camden to Saratoga. Each and all these we repudiated *because we did not like them. Slavery was kept because the nation did not choose to*

repudiate it, and colonizationists seek to delude and deceive themselves and others by casting off an awful responsibility, which it becomes us to feel and meet with manly courage.

In the early days of the colonization movements an object indispensable to its very existence was to gain the favor and confidence of the slaveholders. They were, as a body, jealous of any movement which had to do with the colored people, and the most unwearied pains were taken by colonizationists to gain a sure place in their favor, even to the extent of appeals to their interest in the shape of a prospective rise in slave property. A few such are given as specimens.

"The object of the Colonization Society commends itself to every class of society. The landed proprietor *may enhance the value of his property* by assisting the enterprise." (Af. Rep. i. 67.)

"But is it not certain that, should the people of the Southern States refuse to adopt the opinions of the Colonization Society, (relative to the gradual abolition of slavery,) and continue to consider it both just and politic to leave untouched a system, for the termination of which we think the whole wisdom and energy of the states should be put in requisition, that they *will contribute more effectually to the continuance and strength of this system* by removing those now free, than by any or all other methods which can possibly be devised? Such has been the opinion expressed by southern gentlemen of the first talent and distinction. Eminent individuals have, we doubt not, lent their aid to this cause in expectation of at once accomplishing a noble and generous work for Africa, and for the objects of their patronage, and *guarding that system*, the existence of which, though *unfortunate*, they deem *necessary*, by separating from it those whose disturbing force augments its inherent vices and darkens all the repulsive attributes of its character.

In the decision of those individuals, as to the effects of the Colonization Society, we perceive *no error of judgment: our belief is the same.*" (Idem, p. 227.)

The whole amounts to about this. "Gentlemen of the south, we think slavery an evil, to be done away at some future period when it may suit your convenience, and that our society is an excellent aid to that worthy object; but if you do not agree with us, why, we think our society helps to 'guard' and 'continue' slavery. Take it as a help or a hinderance to abolition, as you will, it will do either to a charm, and *disturb no prejudices.* But, gentlemen, give us your aid and influence any how; we are, as you see, very accommodating." (Idem, iv. 274.)

"There was but one way, (to avert danger,) but that might be made effectual, fortunately. It was *to provide and keep open a drain for the excess beyond the occasion of profitable employment.*"

Mr. Archer had been stating the case, in the supposition that after the present class of free blacks had been exhausted by the operation of the plan he was recommending, others would be supplied for its action, in the proportion of the excess of colored population it would be necessary to throw off by the process of voluntary manumission or sale. "This effect must result inevitably from the depreciating value of the slaves ensuing their disproportionate multiplication. The depreciation would be relieved and retarded by the process. The two operations would aid reciprocally and sustain each other, and both be in the highest degree beneficial. It was on the ground of *interest* therefore, the most indisputable *pecuniary interest*, that he addressed himself to the people and legislatures of the slaveholding states." (Speech of Mr. Archer of Va. Fifteenth Ann. Report.)

This distinguished colonizationist discusses profit and loss as calmly and with as much mathematical accuracy

as though it were blood horses, working cattle, or swine, of the "multiplication," "sale," "depreciation," &c., of which he was writing. And why should he not? Men and women are, perhaps, inventoried on his ledger with the beasts he owns and works or raises for market, and he may have a personal interest in the price slaves bear, as well as "other cattle," (for the chivalry of Virginia coin mothers' hearts and children's tears into gold,) and we fear much that Virginia colonizationists sometimes deal in their "sacred" property in the way of exchanging surplus slaves for gold, of which they have no surplus. Other similar appeals might be cited. They have been seldom made of late, as the vigilance of the abolitionists would detect and turn them to a quick and powerful account. Neither are they needed, for *the object is attained*, and the Colonization Society stands fairly with the slave owners. They have comprehended its real character, and see that it does them no harm, but that *they can rule it*, and use it as a means of deceiving the people and perpetuating their sway.

There may be doubtless a small portion of the slaveholders who do not confide in or sympathize with the movement. That class known as "State Rights Men," "Secessionists," — who were not even satisfied with the "Compromise Acts of 1850" and the "Fugitive Slave Law," because they were not sufficiently and entirely southern to suit their views, — may in some cases denounce the scheme. The "*Southern Press*," established in Washington, to sustain radical views of the "peculiar institution," attacked some of the views of the colonizationists. But that went down for want of support, and the Colonization Society lives, its four or five newspapers in the slave states are in being, and its agents obtain generous contributions, and are cordially entertained in the houses of the planters. Colonizationists sometimes in their addresses and publications

parade themselves as valorously standing between the fires of "the ultraists at the south and the ultraists at the north," and in great trial and difficulty thereby. Did any one ever hear of a colonization meeting being broken up at the south, or of men being abused personally, or suffering persecution any where at the hands of slave owners or negro haters, for being colonizationists?

Let the slave owners and their allies suppose for a moment the scheme was inimical to their interests, or that its advocates were in earnest in opposing slavery, and *every southern auxiliary society would be swept out of existence*. This talk about the strong opposition of southern ultraists is all to deceive a class of men at the north, who love to be drawn into a scheme so in accordance with their prejudices, and which furnishes an easy way of being philanthropic in the public esteem.

Appeals to the selfish fears, both of slave owners and the people of the north and south alike, are a favorite and powerful means of gaining support and fostering the prejudice on which the society lives.

"What are these objects? They are, *in the first place*, to aid ourselves, by relieving us from a species of population pregnant with future danger and present inconvenience." (Seventh Ann. Report.)

Suppose the constitution of the society had been, "The objects of this society shall be '*in the first place*,'" &c., &c., it would have read rather strangely.

"What is the free black to the slave? A standing perpetual incitement to discontent. Though the condition of the slave be a thousand times the best, — supplied, protected, instead of destitute and desolate, — yet the folly of the condition, held to involuntary labor, finds always allurements in the spectacle of exemption from it, without consideration of the adjuncts of wretchedness and misery. The slave would have then little excitement to discontent,

were it not for the free black." (Fifteenth Ann. Report.)

"To remove these persons (free blacks) from among us will increase the *usefulness* and improve the moral character of those who remain in servitude, and *with whose labor the country is unable to dispense*. That instances are to be found of colored free persons upright and industrious is not to be denied. But the greater portion, as is well known, are a source of malignant depravity to the slaves on the one hand and of corrupt habits to many of our white population on the other. . . . I am a Virginian; I *dread for her* the corroding evil of their numerous caste, and *I tremble for the danger of a disaffection spreading, through their seductions, among our servants*." (Af. Rep. iii. 67, 197.)

"They have all the lofty and immortal powers of man, and the time must arrive when they will fearlessly claim the prerogatives of man. They may do it in the spirit of revenge. They may do it in the spirit of desperation. And the results of such a mustering of their energies — who can look at it even in the distant prospect without horror? . . . Who can foretell those scenes of carnage and terror our children may witness unless a seasonable remedy be applied? The remedy is now within our reach. *We can stop their increase*, we can diminish their number." (Sermon at Springfield, Mass., by Rev. Baxter Dickinson, 1829.)

"Those persons of color who have been emancipated, are only nominally free; and the whole race, so long as they remain among us, must *necessarily* be kept in a condition full of wretchedness to them and *danger to the whites*." (N. Y. Col. Soc., Second Annual Report, 34.)

Colonization has appeals suited to different latitudes — warning the slaveholder of "incentives to discontent" in the persons of free blacks; the northerner of a terrible

time to come, when a despised race shall assert their dignity, with desperate energy, and telling him strange tales of the dangerous position and inevitable wretchedness of the black man. "*Love casteth out fear*" — hatred and prejudice intensify it, and guilt magnifies it a thousand fold.

"For the most conclusive reasons this removal should be to Africa. If it be to the West Indies, to Texas, to Canada, then how strong and various the objections to building up, in the vicinity of our own nation, a mighty empire from a race of men *so unlike ourselves!* But if the removal be to Africa, then it is to a *happy distance* from us, and in their fatherland. . . . Then let us aid in removing that population which, under its peculiar relation to the whites, and under its degrading social and civil disabilities, is a most fruitful source of national dishonor, demoralization, weakness, and *horrid danger.*" (Memorial N. Y. Col. Society.)

"To force upon the south a free colored population cannot be done; the north need not expect it. Nor do the Northern States desire the free people of color to become citizens among them. No, my friends, no! We *do not want them*; we abhor amalgamation. . . . We desire not our youth to grow up amidst the many temptations to vice which such a population affords. . . . Were thousands and hundreds of thousands of slaves set free, scattered over our land, filling the outskirts of our villages, degraded and degrading others, marked by God as a distinct race, with no adequate human motives for elevation, they would be a prey upon community." (Speech of Hon. H. L. Ellsworth, Colonization Convention, Washington, M^y, 1842.)

"Nothing could be more unwise than the immediate liberation of all the slaves in the state. . . . It would lead to the *most frightful disorders* and the *most fearful and fatal consequences.*" (Letter of H. Clay to R. Pinnell on Emancipation in Ky., Af Rep. 1849.)

"Now, this state of things (black labor being displaced by white) exists at a time when there exists a mighty drain upon the Atlantic border for laborers to supply the vast country lying between the crests of the Alleghany and the shores of the Pacific.

"But this drain cannot last forever; and when it ceases, should the two races, which we have shown must forever remain distinct, still occupy the land, there will be a strife for bread, *fearful and murderous*; a strife to be described in all its horrors by some future Victor Hugo, should talent be perpetuated for the occasion; a strife in which the fate of the weaker and colored race may easily be imagined; a strife which would have been furnished with a prototype in 1847 in Ireland had its population been divided into white and black, entertaining the same feelings which prevail here, and two men of different color had been required to divide between them the loaf not sufficient to satisfy the craving appetite of one starving wretch." (Reply of J. H. B. Latrobe to Victor Hugo's Letter to Mrs. Chapman.)

"The time has fully come, when, if we do not *grapple boldly* the difficulties, and *control* them, they will *control us*; they can never be raised to an equality. It has been attempted, but when has the experiment ever succeeded?

"Let St. Domingo give the answer, *full of solemn warning and instruction!*" (Memorial to Va. Legislature, indorsed by R. W. Bailey, Agent Am. Col. Soc., 1849.)

"Meanwhile the colored man's prospects of a satisfactory home in the United States are continually growing darker. The *fierce contests* which have been waged concerning the rights of the colored man, bond and free, have extensively fastened attention upon them as a source of *discord and danger*. In this state of feeling there is much that is inexcusably wrong; still it exists." (Mass. Col. Soc., Tenth Ann. Rep.)

"As slavery is abolished in the south, free negroes will crowd the cities on the Atlantic shore. Are our mechanics and laborers ready to receive them? is a question that admits of but one answer. Abolish slavery in the south, and allow emancipated negroes to settle among us, and in *less than twenty years* there will be a war of races at the north, unless colonization immediately follows emancipation." (N. Y. Globe, 1850, copied in Pamphlet on Colonization and Mail Steamers.)

"Let it suffice to say that we have in our midst, in the free colored people, an *evil of enormous magnitude*; that this evil has increased, is increasing, and *ought to be diminished*." (Pamphlet on Colonization, New York, 1850.)

Not only is it an "evil of enormous magnitude" that the free blacks are among us, but even Hayti, Cuba, or Mexico would be too near for a race "so unlike ourselves," and only when the "Atlantic rolls its impassable barrier between us" and the distant coast of Africa—which may almost be called

"That bourn from whence " *no emigrant* " returns,
To tell the secrets of his " *foreign home* —

is proposed as a home for the outcast negro, are we wholly "safe," in the imagination of the colonizationist.

No word of bold and manly rebuke against a widespread, wicked prejudice — only now and then an apologetic remonstrance to fall blandly on the ear of those who love *virtue made easy*, and to be unheeded by the oppressor and his allies. "There is much in this state of things that is inexcusably wrong, but still it exists," says some good easy northern colonizationist; and then he turns to a friend and talks fearfully of "discord and danger," and makes his liberal donation, which goes to aid those who control him, in carrying on a merciless crusade against the colored man, and making hatred and fear grow sterner and darker still.

"We live in a country, where, let a man but be a white man, and he need not look up to any other human being as his superior by birth. (Applause.) There is no honor, no emolument to which he may not elevate himself. . . . All this the free colored man sees and knows. He sees and knows, too, that it is nothing but his color — the color given him by God — which shuts him out from this noble and ennobling competition. And what must be the consequence to him ?

"It is *impossible* but that the *worst passions* — envy, malice, vindictiveness, if not atheism — will rankle in his bosom, making him unhappy to himself and *dangerous to the state*. Already we have here and there *fearful premonitions* flashing up now and then. Let me tell you, *nothing but fear* represses the utterance, loud and deep, of passions which will only be the *more fearful*, because they cannot find any vent." (Rev. Dr. Fuller, Thirty-fourth Ann. Meeting, 1851.)

These are the words and views of leading advocates of the "benevolent colonization scheme" — spoken not in a corner, but in the most public places of our land. This chapter cannot perhaps be more fitly closed than by giving the first paragraph of the Seventeenth Annual Report (1849) of the New York State Colonization Society, which needs no comment beyond the simple contrast with the quotations already made : —

"Contemplating as it does a recompense of justice and of *humanity* to Africa and her injured children, by applying a remedy for her great social and moral evils, recognizing in its operation the transcendent value of the Christian religion, not only for individual and eternal salvation, but as a fountain whence *peace, mercy*, and every temporal good *perpetually flows*, conferring upon the colonists the immediate possession of privileges and rights, social and political, almost inaccessible among us ; awakening

in them an apprehension of the capacities of Africa for improvement, and their calling of Providence to attempt it; obviating difficulties which embarrass and prevent emancipation by presenting a *practical mode* for its accomplishment, alike beneficial to the white and *colored race*, to America and Africa; exhibiting in the most convincing and unanswerable manner the fitness of the African for the highest privileges of freedom and civilization, the Colonization Society stands before the American people fearless of investigation, and confidently demanding support."

OPPOSED TO UNCONDITIONAL EMANCIPATION.—
HOSTILE TO THE ANTISLAVERY MOVEMENT.

THE Colonization Society and its advocates are *especially careful* to declare HOSTILITY TO IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION as the *right of the slave* and the *duty* and *highest interest* of the master, and DETERMINED OPPOSITION TO THE ANTISLAVERY MOVEMENT ; and certainly no way could be devised to stand better with slaveholders and their allies. It also claims to be the ONLY REMEDY FOR SLAVERY. This passes well at the north.

Talk to the slaveholder about removing the free blacks from the country, and suggest colonization as a remedy for slavery at some day necessarily distant,—saying that of course you do not “condemn” him at all, that his right of property is “sacred,” that any initiative steps in a matter of such a delicate nature should be left to his judgment and interest, and the conversation may help the relish of a glass of choice Madeira, or add to the *gusto* with which the planter leisurely puffs his fragrant “Havana” after dinner, as he sits in his cool veranda, and looks complacently upon his slaves toiling beneath the fervid sun. To make your election to his favor sure, discourse with some little earnestness about the folly and wickedness of immediate emancipation, and all shall “go merry as a marriage bell.”

Spice the talk with a little choice abuse of abolitionists, a few sneers at the whole antislavery enterprise, and the host will introduce you to his friends as a “Yankee, sensible enough to be a southerner.” You will be used well, *because you can be put to good use*, — made a *walking apolo-*

gist for slavery. Just such a course the Colonization Society, on a larger scale, pursues ; of course, it is well used and *made good use of.*

“It appears indeed the only feasible mode by which we can remove this stigma as well as danger from among us. Their sudden and entire freedom would be a *fearful and perhaps dreadful experiment*, destructive of all the ends of liberty, for which their condition would unfit them, and which they would doubtless greatly abuse. Even their release, at apparently proper intervals, but uncontrolled as to their future habits and *location*, would be a very hazardous charity. Their gradual emancipation, therefore, under the advantages of a free government formed in their native land, by their own hands, offering all the rewards usual to industry and economy, and affording the means of enjoying in comfort a reputable and free existence, is *the only rational mode* of relieving them from the bondage of their present condition.” (Af. Rep. i. 89.)

“The condition of a slave suddenly emancipated and thrown upon his own resources is *far from improved* ; and, however laudable the feeling which leads to such emancipation, its policy and propriety are at least questionable.” (Report of Tenn. Col. Soc.)

“The inhabitants of the south cannot and OUGHT *not* suddenly to emancipate their slaves, to remain among them free. Such a measure would be no blessing to the slaves, but the *very madness of self-destruction to the whites.* In the south, the horrid scenes that would too certainly follow the liberation of their slaves, are present to every imagination, to stifle the calls of justice and humanity.” (First Annual Report New Jersey Col. Soc.)

“*It would be as humane to throw them from the decks in the middle passage as to set them free in this country.*” (Af. Rep. iv. 226.)

“The society having declared, that it is in no wise

allied to any *abolition* society in America, or elsewhere, is ready, when there is need, *to pass a censure upon such societies in America.*" (Speech of Mr. Harrison of Va. Eleventh Annual Report, p. 14.)

It should be remembered, that the abolition societies up to this date had not adopted the idea of immediate emancipation, had not come on to the ground that slavery was a sin to be ceased from at once. So we see the Colonization Society ready to censure even societies for *gradual abolition*, if they granted the slave the right to remain here.

The darkened mind of the slaveholder, filled with fears and prejudices, can see nothing but bloodshed and devastation in the path of voluntary emancipation, and the colonizationist fosters these horrid fears, which stand like ugly demons guarding the door of the slave's dungeon, by picturing the "horrid scenes that would too certainly follow the liberation of the slaves," and treating such liberation as "the very madness of self-destruction to the whites."

No drop of blood was ever shed as a consequence of voluntary emancipation, and, as every intelligent reader knows, "the horrors of the St. Domingo tragedy" were the results, not of emancipation, but of efforts made by the French, under the orders of Napoleon, to reduce the emancipated blacks to slavery. Were every slave freed to-day, the evils which have grown up with slavery could not at once be done away; for long years the taint of this terrible moral leprosy would be felt; but in the pure air of freedom the disease would at length be cured, while without the healthful influence of such an atmosphere, the foul corruption spreads and strikes deeper.

But it is no part of the scope of the colonization movement to show that righteousness and peace are ever appointed of God to walk hand in hand. No; it "leaves

prejudices as they are," or turns aside from its *pretended exclusive object* to strike hands with the blinded and guilty oppressor, to utter smooth words in his ear, and cast a darker shadow athwart his dim vision.

But to our testimony, giving "confirmation strong as Holy Writ," of the character of this detestable scheme.

"What *right*, I demand, have the children of Africa to a home in the *white man's country*?" (Speech of Mr. Custis. Fourteenth Report, p. 24.)

"*Resolved*, That, in the opinion of this meeting, it is the solemn duty of every patriot and philanthropist to discountenance and *oppose* the efforts of antislavery societies." (Col. Soc. of Middletown, Conn., March 6, 1834.)

"Mr. Gurley, Secretary of the Society, gave some very striking facts, to show that sudden and universal emancipation, without colonization, would be a greater CURSE to the slaves than the bondage in which they are now held." (Report of Speech at Col. Meeting, Portsmouth, N. H. Rep. xi. 346.)

"*Resolved*, That this meeting rejects the doctrines and measures of *modern* abolition as fanatical and dangerous in their tendency." (Colonization Meeting at Erie, Pa., Aug. 22, 1835.)

"When the consequences of the abolition projects to the Federal Union and to the safety of its citizens are considered, can the most ingenious charity find a better excuse for the projector than in *bottomless ignorance* and unteachable fanaticism?" (Af. Rep. x. 230.)

"His (the abolitionist's) invectives might be disregarded, had he not placed himself with *blasphemous* intrusion between the African and his God. He declares, that all men are equal, and, in chase of that POLITICAL FICTION, disregards the actual condition of the human race, their wants and necessities, and their relation to their Maker. He *exaggerates* the degraded condition of the slave, his

scanty food and raiment, his scars and stripes, till he becomes quite insensible to every conception, save that of animal feeling and temporary convenience, *and in his maniac zeal is willing to sacrifice the SOULS OF FIFTY MILLIONS OF AFRICANS, AND TO DELUGE HIS OWN COUNTRY WITH BLOOD.*" (Speech of R. F. Stockton to Col. Meeting, Trenton, N. J. Af. Rep. xiii. 99.)

"The line of demarcation is now too strongly drawn between abolition and colonization ever to be crossed. Their principles are diametrically opposed to each other, and their warfare will tend to press each to occupy its appropriate ground and position. The Colonization Society *must now maintain that great original principle on which it was founded, FRIENDSHIP TO THE SLAVEHOLDER.*" (Speech of HENRY A. WISE to Virginia Col. Soc., 1839.)

"Because we consider the measure of all others best calculated to preserve good order and proper discipline among our slaves, therefore we deem the plan of removing them (free blacks) from the country the *most effectual method of counteracting the abolitionists.* It is known that they are the most violent opponents which the scheme of colonization has to encounter. THEIR PENETRATION HAS DISCOVERED ITS TENDENCY, and they denounce it as a scheme of the slaveholders to perpetuate slavery. Nor should it be forgotten that Africa is the natural home of the negro race, and at a *safe distance* whence they can never return to the injury of our slaves." (Address of Baldwin [Alabama] Col. Society to the Public. Af. Rep. March, 1839.)

"The movements of the latter (American abolitionists) so far as directed to excite the slaves to insurrection, or in any way to coerce emancipation, are regarded universally in America with detestation and horror; . . . to represent the people of the Southern States as generally guilty of *rigorous*, inhuman conduct toward their slaves

is an *outrage upon truth* as well as charity ; . . . the various 'compound poisons,' as Coleridge calls them, calculated to excite discontent in the *humbler classes*, . . . appear to me to be in great demand among the antislavery societies, both of England and America. *First.* Bold, warm, and earnest assertions, it matters not whether supported by facts or not. . . . *Second.* Startling *particular facts* which, dissevered from their context, enable a man to convey falsehood while he says truth," &c., &c. (Letter of Rev. R. R. Gurley, 1840, to THOMAS F. BUXTON and HENRY CLAY, [one Chairman of the Committee of African Civilization Society in England, the other President of the American Colonization Society.] Gurley's Mission to England, 189, &c.)

One is tempted to say "Physician heal thyself," in reading the charge of unsupported assertions. It would be well for Mr. Gurley to bring proof of his own assertion, implied plainly enough, that abolitionists endeavored in this country to excite the slaves to insurrection.

"This agitation has kept back emancipation fifty years. He had in his hand an extract from a letter of a southern clergyman, a missionary in the south-west, half of whose time had been spent among colored people, saying, 'Northern abolitionists had done more to damage slaves and perpetuate slavery than all the world beside.' The people of my state have just been making a new constitution, and have declared, by a majority of ninety thousand, that no foreign black man shall ever again set his foot upon the soil of Indiana, and that the colonization scheme is their remedy for the evil of our existing black population." (Speech of Mr. Parker of Indiana, Member of Congress. N. Y. Col. Journal, December, 1852.)

"It is a curious fact, that our domestic abolitionists have always opposed the colonization principle. . . . This, however, is easily explained. Every negro who embarks

for Liberia abstracts from their capital, and reduces their adherents, one less. While these sticklers for negro liberty, and unrestrained freedom to the whole world and 'the rest of mankind,' will not associate with a colored man, they are opposed to this most humane and most philanthropic method of conferring liberty, in the real sense of the term, on the emancipated black of the south. They will allow the negro, whom they helped to steal, to clean their boots and drive their carriages; but they will not allow them to aspire any higher." (N. Y. Herald, copied in Pamphlet on Colonization and Mail Steamships, N. Y. 1851.)

"He held in his hand some of the *leaves of the upas tree*, (holding up some speeches of George Thompson and others.) He was one of those men who were denounced for their adherence to the law and the Constitution. There was a great enlightener somewhere on this continent, who took the title of "Member of the British Parliament," a man who came from among men elevated in character, and claimed to rank with them. He would now read extracts from the speeches of that gentleman. (Reading.) The reverend gentleman then proceeded to defend the character of the clergy, and asked if the thirty thousand ministers, whom George Thompson described as bread-and-butter parsons and lick-spittle priests, were not as likely to form a correct, dispassionate judgment upon the question now agitating the country, as any other men in this or any other country? . . . There was another man, whose education and associations in life ought to have taught him better, born as he was in the noble Bay State, and brought up on the banks of the Merrimack. He was born in the same glorious state, and was *very sorry* to find a man from such a state ascribing the conduct pursued by the clergy and other conscientious men to the 'magnetic influence of bales of cotton.' . . .

He verily believed, that had those men kept off their hands, one hundred thousand victims of slavery would now be free where they could enjoy their freedom. . . . The emancipation of more than a thousand slaves could be procured to-day, but nothing could be done until the *obstacle* of the free negroes residing in the *free states* could be removed." (Speech of REV. DR. TYNG, Ann. Meeting N. Y. Col. Soc., 1851.)

"The subject of slavery is important. We cannot be ascetics. . . . We cannot get rid of slavery. The question is, What is best to be done? There are only two things can't be done. The one is agitation,—anti-national, disorganizing, overbearing, carried on by men who seem to believe that the wrath of man worketh the righteousness of God, and that God is only to be found in the whirlwind of human passion. There were some *monomaniacs*, who accused him of being on all sides. Those accusations did not trouble him much; . . . there were many sides northern, and many sides southern, to the great constitutional question of slavery, and the man who had looked only at one side was not competent to pass a judgment on the whole. . . . The spirit of agitation, which George Thompson was stimulating, was an awkward exotic; an anti-American piece of *philosophism* which had no philosophy in it.

"Europeans, and especially Englishmen, were in the habit of looking at the constitution of society as like a pyramid; an idea which an American could not realize. The pyramid of England had for its gilded apex *a little Queen*, with ten children all around her, and *Prince Albert doing the honors*. (Roars of laughter.) Then a little lower down were dukes, marquises, earls, barons, baronets, knights, and esquires, *down to penniless men*, who get themselves elected members of Parliament. (Laughter and cheers.) Then there was the starving people at the base.

The way to move the top of a column is to keep up a noise at the base, and especially by the use of ointment, with flies in it as large and as sweet as dead humming-birds. If that kind of piety is good for England it is better to keep it at home. . . . The Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian churches were split into north and south by the rabid antislavery agitation. The men who caused this schism were guilty of a similar sin to that of Jeroboam, who created a division in the twelve tribes of Israel, which has never been healed, and ten tribes have been lost, so that Dr. Robertson himself could not find them." (Speech of REV. S. H. COX, D. D., on same occasion.)

The question may *possibly* arise in the mind of the reader, what the "magnetic influence of bales of cotton," or "*philosophism* without philosophy," has to do with the suppression of the slave trade, (the *foreign* trade of course, — the society has not made any special move against the *domestic* traffic yet, — *too near home* for its *far-seeing* philanthropy, probably,) or how the question of church schism or the "ten lost tribes" has any bearing on the "exclusive object" of the colonization movement. Almost the whole of their addresses was of a similar nature to the quotations given, and according to the report in the *N. Y. Colonization Journal*, the large audience responded by cheers and laughter. And this at the annual meeting of a state society, at which those who *give tone* to the movement were present.

"The practical effect of modern abolition thus far has been to disturb the glorious harmony of a happy people, threatening to place brother in armed array against brother, while at the same time all the friendly and affectionate relations between the whites and free blacks have been prematurely destroyed, the bonds of the slave have been tightened and his privileges curtailed, so that the acts of

pretended friends have, in their results, been a curse to both of them. Whether this ought to be so ; whether benevolence, because it is ignorant, should be *tolerated* and respected, when its course is mischievous and its practical workings destructive ; whether the master of the slave should praise and thank him who excited them to rise and break their chains over his head, that is, to murder him and his ; whether were the world *better ordered* this should not be so, is what we do not propose to argue. Taking the world as we find it, we rely on the facts that we know, rather than on the speculations of a French poet and novelist, — and a great poet and novelist too, — even when he raises his voice at the instigation of an American lady, who, we think, might have found advisers who knew more about the subject in her own country, than the gentleman to whose ‘upliftings’ we refer.” (Review of Victor Hugo’s Letter to Mrs. Chapman, by J. H. B. LATROBE.)

Here we have the results of another downward step in the compromising policy of the Colonization Society. We have seen its advocates carefully disclaiming all hostility to slavery, then apologizing for it, and now opposing unconditional emancipation, misrepresenting the antislavery movement, holding up the idea to the slaveholder of the “fearful danger” of doing justice to the wronged bondman, and speaking of liberty as a greater “curse” than slavery. Where is the “exclusive object” of the society ? In its constitution ; there, *and there only*.

In a Colonization Convention, held in Washington in 1842, Hon. H. L. Ellsworth, one of the executive committee, said, “Slavery has been, is, and ever will be considered a dreadful evil by all. The sage of Monticello, with his compatriots, Madison, Marshall, Monroe, and many others, have already spoken. And for this evil what is the remedy ? None has been offered at all adequate, that does not include colonization, and, without it,

emancipation, it is believed by many, would prove a curse alike to the slave states themselves, and to those states where entire freedom prevails."

"The whole income of the antislavery society has been expended in acting on public opinion. *Every cent* of it has been laid out in turning men's minds against colonization: and much more effectually than if opposing the Colonization Society had been the avowed and only object." (Letter from Rev. J. Tracy, on the Cause in New England. Af. Rep., January, 1843.)

The progress of antislavery, in the opinion of Mr. Tracy, is injurious to colonization. *A highly significant idea, peculiarly satisfactory to the south, doubtless.*

"It was no part of the *duty* or design of colonizationists to promulgate the doctrine of abolition. They were by no means prepared to go all lengths with a party as much distinguished by being opposed to law, and order, and government, as to slavery. . . . As well might we insist upon prescribing one universal medicine to all diseases, or clothing all men alike in all weathers, because the human body is prone to illness, and demands a covering, as to attempt to make all conditions of society square with a single abstract theory of right or wrong." (R. R. Gurley, N. Y. Col. Soc. Meeting, 1843.)

"The fury of sectional madness, and the frenzy of religious fanaticism, find nothing in the principles of this great movement to excite or nourish those *frantic passions* which, under so many opposite manifestations, have sought one common and *diabolical end*,—in the division of all the churches, the hostility of the states, the dissolution of the national union, and the overthrow of the constitution." ("The Black Race," R. J. Breckenridge. Af. Rep., May, 1851.)

"Abolitionism has made no great progress here. The calm and patriotic in this region see plainly that coloni-

zation has afforded them the most effective arguments against its *visionary and agitating schemes*." (Richard Henry Lee, Professor in Washington College, Pa. Twenty-eighth Annual Report.)

. . . "And, unfortunately, the colonization cause has become so *strangely* confounded in the popular mind with *abolition*, its friends were advised to wait until election was over, and I fear the prospect is not much improved. My own deliberate opinion is, that a *wise*, eloquent, and *judicious* agent, who could render palpable to every capacity the *broad line of distinction* between colonization and abolition, would dispel much of the darkness and prejudice which prevail." (Rev. Philip Lindsley, D. D., Nashville, Tenn.)

Mr. Lindsley, it seems, finds that political demagogues are making capital by an effort to confound in the popular mind two movements between which his own clear mind can see a "broad line of distinction."

"Abolition excitement became so tumultuous and alarming a few years ago, that the friends of colonization *cowered* before it, and, for the sake of peace, ceased to defend or do any thing to promote the good cause. . . . Another thing which ought to be and must be done to give increased energy to this cause is, to induce pastors to consent to have it brought back to the pulpit, from which it has been iniquitously exiled, as a mistaken concession and costly peace offering *to the fiery and inexorable Moloch of abolition*." (Rev. D. S. Carroll, D. D., of New York. Same occasion.)

Pity it is the friends of so holy a cause should "cower" to *abolition*, and especially that its clerical friends should make such a "peace offering" to this "inexorable Moloch;" such conduct savors little of the high heroism of those pledged to "fight the good fight" against all sin. No wonder Dr. Carroll is indignant.

"I ask, sir, if you reject the colonization principle, where is the asylum to give them? What *hope* for the slave or the emancipated? Suppose we had it in our power to-day to set every slave free, so that he could go or come where he pleases, are we willing to receive the *mighty horde* who would rush here? to take them to the bosom of our homes in full participation of our privileges? I do not think so." (Speech of Mr. Miller in Senate of New York. N. Y. Col. Journal, January, 1853.)

"Abolition has been the *black man's curse*. Not a slaveholder, having no personal interest with slavery, abolition has not done to me or my friends a wrong which I resent. . . . I fancy myself to be the black man's friend; . . . am not a paid official of colonization. Prior to 1830, the relation between whites and blacks, *bond and free*, in the slaveholding states, especially in the large cities of those states, from Baltimore to New Orleans, cannot be better described than by the single word **KINDLY**. Modern abolition changed all this. . . . There was some palliation for the slaveholder, who became shy of his people, curtailed their privileges, threw difficulties in the way of their instruction, when he found tracts in circulation among them counselling massacre as the price of freedom. . . . There is the fullest justification for saying, that the account which abolition will have to settle for wrong done will be with him, not with the white man; . . . this is not *all* wilfully done; there may be true and single-minded abolitionists. . . . A kindly feeling changed too often to rancorous hate, bonds tightened and privileges curtailed, a present without permanence and a future without hope, are among the results which abolition may yet have to answer before Him, who, if he permits such evil upon earth, holds nevertheless the agents of it to a *dread accountability*." (Speech of J. H. B. Latrobe, Ann. Meeting N. Y. Col. Soc., 1852.)

The revival of these old and ridiculous charges, made and refuted years ago, about incendiary pamphlets, is absurd. The readers of the "Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin," Weld's "Slavery as it is," and other publications of a similar nature, will be surprised perhaps at the strange folly of this talk about "kindly" relations "between whites and blacks," "bond or free." And yet Mr. Latrobe now occupies the prominent position of President of the American Colonization Society!!

The *Journal of Commerce* is quoted in the *Repository* of May, 1852, as saying, "As for abolitionism it has ceased to be regarded by intelligent men, if it ever was regarded by many such, as an available means of benefiting the colored race, except at a period so remote that it is not worth while to think of it; . . . that, in short, abolition is a *humbug*, a *vagary of the imagination*, a *dream*, and that "proslavery" men, so called by *fanatics* because they approach the subject rationally and practically as they would any other, where the consent of both parties was necessary to success, are the only men likely to do any good in the premises." The *Journal of Commerce* and the *Repository* seem to be well united in their views of this "vagary." How soon slavery is likely to cease in any way under such influences all can judge, especially when they take into account the fact that the *Journal of Commerce* gains large support at the south from those devoted to the interests of slavery, and at the north from those ready to sustain and *eternize* all the infamous "compromises," who hold the Fugitive Slave Law to be the chosen means for the perpetuity of the Union.

For two hundred years a great system of robbery and wrong has been growing in our country; its influences have reached the social life of the people, and set a mark on the colored man to banish him from society, to debar him from equal participation in religious or educational

privileges, to keep him degraded that he might be the more easily enslaved. The idea that man can hold property in his fellow-man has been guarantied by constitutions, defended by the arm of law, made sacred by the sanctions of religion. Great statesmen ask us to "conquer our prejudices," and help catch fugitive slaves; eminent divines, north and south, teaching that the Bible is an infallible guide to duty and salvation, God's will revealed to man, find therein divine authority for slavery, and lend their influence

" To sanction robbery, and crime, and blood,
And in oppression's hateful service libel
Both man and God."

The domestic slave trade goes on briskly, — dealers in "slaves and other cattle" separate husbands, wives, sons, and daughters, severing all the purest and holiest ties that make life so sweetly pleasant, — each year millions of dollars are invested in this infamous traffic, and thousands of its victims perish in the rice swamps and sugar fields of the far south; men whose purses are heavy with the gold gained as the price of blood by the sale of their slaves, mingle in the highest social circles north or south, sit in Congress, or at the communion table, or stand in the pulpit, in fellowship with the greater part of our churches.

The bloody slave whip is ever doing its cruel work, and the red-hot branding iron hissing in the flesh of the wretched victims of cruelty; sorrow and anguish unutterable dwell in the hearts of millions. Such are some of the sad and terrible results of a long career of compromise with sin.

Shall not constitution and law guaranty and protect the rights of *all*, and especially the poor and weak?

Shall not religion inculcate a high and sacred reverence for the rights of man, inalienable, given by God ?

Must not a pure Christianity “preach deliverance to the captive, and the opening of the prison to those who are in bonds” ?

Shall not this great nation *practise* the principles of its own glorious declaration of independence, and thus fulfil its mission of preaching to the world the great gospel of human brotherhood ?

Must not the prejudices which *find their abiding place in our social life* cease ?

Does not the plainest duty and the truest friendship to the slaveholder demand that we cease all support of his evil deeds, and tell him, with all plainness, with all terrible severity if need be, yet with all faithful kindness, of the great sin he is guilty of ? — point to his beautiful land, blighted by the tread of the slave, and show how duty and prosperity go ever side by side as a wise Father has willed ?

These are the GREAT QUESTIONS OF OUR DAY. We *cannot pass them by* ; we *cannot* put them aside ; we *cannot* silence them ; they *must be answered and settled*, for they are vital to our highest interests, to our *most sacred, most deeply religious duty*. To seek to ignore them, or to turn the mind of the people therefrom, were folly, wickedness, impiety.

What has the American Colonization Society to say on these great questions ? Freedom for all would be a “dangerous and dreadful experiment,” a “greater curse” than slavery. “Deliverance to the captive” would lead to “abominable crimes.” The settlement of these questions is a “diabolical end ;” the right of property in man must be held “sacred,” says one who “looks to God and to God alone” ! A “dread accountability” before One who

leaves no sin unpunished awaits those who simply ask equal justice for the slave! Such are the sentiments of those who control this "benevolent" association. It upholds the oppressor, crushes the colored man here, sneers at the impartial advocates of liberty, and meanwhile seeks to delude the people by pointing across the water to Liberia, and talking of civilization and Christianity in Africa!

ITS PHILANTHROPY WOULD SEND THE COLORED PEOPLE TO LIBERIA, BUT DEGRADE THEM HERE.

THE American Colonization Society claims to be especially the friend of the colored people of our country, while, in fact, it is their DEADLY ENEMY, using all the weight of its influence to keep them debased, ignorant, and crushed beneath a mountain of prejudice.

There are doubtless members and friends of the Colonization Society who support its plans and contribute to its funds from feelings of kindness to an abused and proscribed people ; of such we can only say their position is wrong, their eyes are blinded. But we must judge the society by the influence it exerts as a body. It holds out to the colored man, who wishes to go to Liberia, promise of aid ; it represents the colony as a place where equal rights, abundant living, and educational advantages are at the command of those possessed of a fair share of energy and industry ; and for doing this claims to be *the* philanthropic movement of the age, so far as the colored people are concerned.

Its highest idea of philanthropy toward the colored man is *to send him to Liberia*. As for treating him as a man here, that is a different matter, — *the obligation to do so it repudiates*, — for slavery has created a stern and cruel prejudice, forbidding such treatment, and the easiest way to keep up this prejudice is to talk about African civilization. The society sanctifies this vile offspring of slavery as an “ordination of Providence,” grants that neither reason

nor religion can destroy it, helps to make the condition of multitudes of the free people of color worse, utters no earnest rebuke against their oppressors, slanders and misrepresents them, never demands equal educational or social privileges for them, but denies their right to those privileges while here, allies itself with unjust and oppressive legislation, such as would disgrace the veriest despot in the world, and then, ADDING INSULT TO INJURY, turns to the victims of the abuse and prejudice it has helped to strengthen and perpetuate, and says, "If you will expatriate yourselves *voluntarily*, and thus relieve us of a class, 'the object of low, debasing envy to the slaves, of universal distrust and suspicion to ourselves,' we will pay your passage, care for you a few months, and render you some small aid in that strange land whither you go, and whence we trust you may not return to vex us with your unwelcome presence." And this is the height of colonization philanthropy! But to the evidence on which these charges are based.

"Christianity cannot do for them here what it will do for them in Africa. This is not the fault of the colored man or the white man, but an *ordination of Providence*, and no more to be changed than the laws of nature." (Fifteenth Annual Report, p. 47.)

. . . "Prejudices which neither refinement, nor argument, nor education, *nor religion itself* can subdue, mark the people of color, bond and free, as the subjects of a degradation *inevitable and incurable*." (Address of Connecticut Colonization Society.)

"Something he must yet be allowed to say as regarded the object the society was set up to accomplish. This object, if he understood it aright, involved no intrusion on property OR EVEN UPON PREJUDICE." (Mr. Archer of Va. Fifteenth Annual Report.)

. . . "Disclaim all attempts for the immediate abo-

lition of slavery, *or the instruction of the great body of the blacks.*" (Speech of H. Bleeker, Second Ann. Meeting N. Y. Col. Soc.)

"It may be safely assumed that there is not an individual in the community, who has given a moment's consideration to the subject, who does not regard the existence of the free people of color in the bosom of the country as an evil of immense magnitude, and of a dangerous and alarming tendency." (Twelfth Annual Report.)

"The existence, in the very bosom of our country, of an *anomalous race of beings, the most debased upon earth*, who neither enjoy the blessings of freedom, nor are yet in the bonds of slavery, is a *great national evil*, which every friend of his country must deeply deplore. . . . Enough, under favorable circumstances, might be removed for a few successive years, if young *females* were encouraged to go, to keep the whole colored population in check." (Af. Rep. vii. 230, 246.)

"It must appear evident to all that every endeavor to divert the attention of the community, or even a portion of the means which the present crisis so imperatively calls for, from the Colonization Society, to measures calculated to bind the colored population to this country, and seeking to raise them (*an impossibility*) to a level with the whites, whether by founding colleges or in any other way, tends directly, in proportion as it succeeds, to counteract and thwart the whole plan of colonization. Although none would rejoice more than myself to see this unhappy race elevated to the highest scale of human being, it has always seemed to me this country was not the theatre for such a change." (New Haven Religious Intelligencer, July, 1831.)

It surely indicates no *special* friendship to disclaim so carefully all *attempts* even to instruct colored people, and nothing could be devised less calculated to create mutual

good feeling and confidence than to speak of their existence among us as "an evil of immense magnitude, of dangerous and alarming tendency." The free colored people must read with peculiar feelings the assertion published in the organ of this society, that they are "an anomalous race of beings, the most debased upon earth," and the atrocious proposal to remove "young females" (voluntarily *of course*) will seem a singular evidence of good will.

The cool declaration, that all diversion of public attention from the scheme of sending them to Africa to the "*impossible*" effort to elevate and educate them here, may not perhaps tend greatly to increase the self-respect or strengthen the hopes of colored people; but then the Colonization Society is a great philanthropic movement, aiming to do great good—in *Africa*. None can object, none do object, to every person in Liberia gaining the most perfect culture,—possessing and using all the rights of man,—but let the same class gain the same culture, possess and use unmolested, and as equals, the same rights among us,—a strange philanthropy that surely which can only find scope in a distant land, among a few thousand persons, and pass by or help to degrade a hundred fold their number at our very doors!

Let us see what opinion eminent colonizationists entertain of those who are to shed the light of Christian civilization on the dark places of Africa.

"There is a class, however, more numerous than all these, introduced among us by violence, notoriously ignorant, degraded, and miserable, mentally diseased, broken-spirited, acted upon by no motives to honorable exertion, *scarcely reached in their debasement by the heavenly light*; yet where is the sympathy and effort a view of their situation ought to excite? They wander unsettled and unfriended through our land, or sit indolent, abject, and sorrowful, by 'the streams which witness their captivity.' Their

freedom is *licentiousness*, and to many *restraint* would prove a blessing. To this remark there are exceptions, proving that to change their state would be to elevate their character ; that virtue and enterprise are absent only because the causes which create the one and the motives which produce the other are absent." (Af. Rep. i. 68.)

"The African in this country belongs by birth to the very lowest station in society ; and from that station he can *never rise, be his talents what they may.* . . . They constitute a class by themselves, out of which *no individual can be elevated*, and below which none can be depressed." (Idem, iv. 118.)

"With us they have been degraded by slavery, and *still further degraded by the mockery of nominal freedom.* We have endeavored, but in vain, to restore them either to self-respect or the respect of others. It is not our fault that we have failed ; it is not theirs. It has resulted from causes over which neither they nor we can ever have control. *Here, therefore, they must be forever debased ; more than this, they must be forever useless ; more than even this, they must be FOREVER A NUISANCE*, from which it were a blessing for society to be rid." (Idem, v. 276.)

. . . "Those persons of color who have been emancipated are only nominally free ; and the whole race, so long as they remain among us, whether slaves or free, *must necessarily be kept in a condition full of wretchedness to themselves and of danger to the whites.*" (Second Ann. Rep. N. Y. Col. Soc.)

In 1849, Rev. Mr. Miller, of Princeton, N. J., travelling in England, and acting as 'informal' agent for the Colonization Society, by a commission from Henry Clay, was examined before a committee of the House of Lords, and contrasting the condition of the Liberians with that of the colored people of Boston, said that in Liberia there were five hundred and eighty members of temperance societies,

in Boston *none*. In Liberia, the attendance of every child at school was regular; in Boston, the proportion was so small and uncertain as not to be comparable.

The active members of temperance societies in Boston, among the colored people, may be somewhat surprised at this statement, as also at the idea conveyed of their ignorance by this representative of the society in so distinguished a presence in England. His statements in regard to education in Liberia were also, as we shall see, incorrect.

"Nor was this surprising, when we consider the *necessity* which existed of providing an asylum for that portion of the African race then free or to be emancipated, as it was obvious to every observer that their presence here, in any considerable numbers, was not only injurious to all classes, but experience, if this indeed were wanting, had fully demonstrated that in *every part of the country*, from the operation of causes beyond our control, they were *destined to be an INCUBUS, a NUISANCE, wherever they might find refuge*.

. . . Of all the missionary schemes ever devised, none, it is believed, can bear any comparison in the magnitude of the results likely to be produced with African colonization. It may be truly said, every colonist becomes a missionary, every settler an instrument of civilization"!! (Address by "A Citizen of Loudon," Va., to the People. Af. Rep. xxvi. 182, 183.)

"They (free colored people) cannot fail to discover the approaching cloud and threatened storm; and yet many of them wilfully close their eyes to the necessity of seeking shelter before it bursts upon them. . . . The free states are closing the doors against them, whilst the slave states are preparing to eject them; and how are they to prevent being crushed, unless they remove to a place of safety?" (Baltimore Clipper, in Af. Rep. xxvii. 334.)

"*Christianity itself* can never break down all those bar-

riers which separate the white from the colored race. The shocking and repulsive idea of amalgamation affords the *only ray of hope* for the negro in this country. Against this alternative every right and noble instinct of the white race must indignantly protest. These same natural instincts will also, to a great degree, exclude our colored population from a participation in those social, religious, and political privileges which are necessary for prosperity and highest possible advancement. *With this constitution of things the friends of colonization wage no war.* They are willing to let it remain *as God has fixed it.*" (Buffalo Christian Advocate. Af. Rep. xxix.)

"Every stimulant to virtuous action, every motive to industrious habit, is taken away. He lives, as the moving creature on the face of the earth lives, for *mere animal indulgence*; and this must forever be the condition of the free blacks here, as long as the white man is the master and giver of law in this country." (Speech of R. G. Scott, of Va. Thirty-third Ann. Meeting.)

"The negro is a timid being; he lives by sight more than by faith; he feels in his soul what the white man *boldly avows*, that he is an inferior being, and *therefore* the subject of deception and wrong. Hence it is so few have been found willing to leave even this land of their degradation for a better home and country in Africa." (Speech of HON. MR. MILLER, of N. J., U. S. Senate, 1853. Af. Rep. xxix. 118.)

"What has Africa been? I speak not of that section of Africa that was inhabited by other races. I cannot go into the *romance* of speaking of Egypt and its people, its kings, its saints, its philosophers. . . . I speak of that portion of Africa inhabited by the black man, — *the woolly-headed African*, (laughter,) — and wherever he has these characteristics he is in the deepest degradation. . . . Take that *monkey empire* (laughter) that has been the

world's laughing stock, (Hayti;) look at the result of their plans. Faustin I., with his *cordon* of dukes and nobles around him, so that there can be scarcely a private man left in his dominions." (Laughter.) (Speech of P^{er}. G. W. Bethune, D. D., Thirty-third Annual Meeting.)

"Do you not all know? I wish with respect to these poor creatures to say nothing to wound their feelings, nothing which is not warranted by truth and experience, and sad daily observation; for it is not their fault that *they are a debased and degraded set*. It is not their fault that they are *more addicted to crime, and vice, and dissolute manners than any other portion of the people of the United States*. It is the inevitable result of the law of their condition." (Speech of Henry Clay. Thirty-fourth Annual Report, 1851.)

Not one word of cheer, not a gleam of hope, for the colored man in this country; all the "blackness of darkness;" the gloom of an utter despair! Ever to be crushed beneath an inexorable and undying prejudice,—scarcely to be "reached in their debasement by the heavenly light,"—wandering disconsolate and heart-broken, or grovelling in the "licentiousness" of a deceptive and blighting freedom,—the "most corrupt and abandoned" of our population,—spurned from one part of the country as "useless and dangerous," and driven from another as a "burden" intolerable and detestable. One only remedy; which shall have the double effect of transforming them into intelligent men and devoted Christian missionaries, making the wilderness blossom like the rose, and bearing in their pure hands the sacred banner of the cross; and leading those who now traduce them, and fear and hate their very presence, to love them as brethren, to honor them as men. Emigration (voluntary, yes, "*only cheerful and voluntary, of course*") to Liberia! O "the deceitfulness of unrighteousness"! Verily, "the tender mercies of the wicked are cruel"!

A reason given why colored people should leave for Liberia is their ignorance ; but we find J. H. B. Latrobe, president of the society, in an address in Boston, at the annual meeting of the Massachusetts Colonization Society, in May, 1853, arguing they may be obliged to go *because growing intelligent*.

"Jealousy and suspicion characterize to-day the relations of the parties. Legislation is invoked. State after state is passing, or threatening to pass, laws against their continued residence." One cause, he says, is "the gradual improvement of the colored people in education and refinement ; . . . the slave is callous, ignorant. But free him, educate him, . . . he becomes restless just in proportion as he is enlightened. . . . He finds sympathizers among the whites. . . . His friends fancy they have 'a mission.' . . . The action soon embraces the slavery question. A crusade commences which makes the colored people the subjects of a family feud. . . . As he who is the subject of a family quarrel finds himself obliged to leave, that peace may be restored," so, he says, this contest threatens to end in the abandonment by the blacks "of the scene of agitation." What a "happy family" we should then be ; our "antagonisms" all "neutralized" by slavery ; the Union safe !

But it may be said, that expressions of regard and pity for the colored man may be found in the publications of this society, and the speeches and writings of its friends.

We grant that such is sometimes the case, and therefore are they all the more dangerous, because they form the shield behind which iniquity hides — are the means by which those who should be "the very elect" are deceived. Wherever found they also furnish, when contrasted with other expressions of a far different character, striking evidences that the society seeks to be "all things to all men" in a sense not quite apostolic. All such expressions of

kindly feeling are coupled with the far-off and uncertain remedy of a Liberian home, and, by *yielding the point of inevitable* hatred and abuse *while here*, help to strengthen the hands of the oppressor. By the side of the kind and benevolent friend of the colonization cause stands the slaveholder or the negro hater, willing to listen calmly as he utters earnest expressions of sympathy for the colored man, which move the hearts of those who hear, to smile condescendingly as he points to Liberia as a sure refuge ; and when the touching appeal is closed, the lips of the tyrant open, his arm is raised, he points across the water, and says, with the air of one "born to command," "The alternative for the people of color is plain ; debasement and sorrow here, or a home in the land of their fathers ; time hastens, let them not long delay the choice." Blinded by a prejudice to which both appeal, multitudes remember only the kind voice of the misguided philanthropist, and fail to discern the spell thrown over *his* susceptible nature by a master spirit.

The splendid speech of Edward Everett, at the annual meeting at Washington in January last, may be pointed to, and it may be said truly that he spoke eloquently of the capacities of the colored man, and even of what had been accomplished in our country by a few individuals of the persecuted race. We quote the paragraph alluding to a few instances of success here : —

"But the question (of capacity) seems to me to be put at rest by what we all must have witnessed of what has been achieved by the colored race in this country and on the coast of Africa. Unfavorable as their position has been for any intellectual progress, we still know, all of us, that they are competent for the common arts and business of life, to the ingenious and mechanical arts, to keeping accounts, to the common branches of academical and professional culture. Paul Cuffee's name is familiar to every

body in my part of the country, and I am sure you must have heard of him. He was a man of uncommon energy and force of character. He navigated to Liverpool his own vessel, manned by a colored crew. His father was a native African slave; his mother a member of one of the broken-down Indian tribes, some fragments of which still linger in the corners of Massachusetts. I have already alluded to the extraordinary attainments of that native African prince, Abdhul Rahhaman. If there ever was a native-born gentleman on earth, he was one. He had the port and air of a prince, the literary culture of a scholar. The learned blacksmith of Alabama, now in Liberia, has attained a celebrity scarcely inferior to his white brother who is known by the same designation. When I lived in Cambridge a few years ago, I used to attend, as one of a Board of Visitors, the examinations of a classical school in which there was a colored boy, the son of a slave in Mississippi, I think. He appeared to me to be of pure African blood. There were at the same time two youths from Georgia and one of my own sons attending the same school. I must say, that this poor negro boy, Beverly Williams, was one of the best scholars at the school, and in the Latin language the best scholar in his class. These are instances that have fallen under my own observation. There are others, I am told, which show still more conclusively the capacity of the colored race for every kind of intellectual culture."

We give this as the *best word ever uttered* (so far as we can learn) by a colonizationist in any prominent position, in behalf of the capacity of the colored race for elevation in our country. The tone of the address is an exception to those given on similar occasions, more just to the colored man, so far as character and capacity are concerned; but the whole effort goes to point to Liberia as his home, and of course to give character to the colonization scheme

which helps to degrade him here. It is noticeable that Mr. Everett's most illustrious instance of talent and acquirement in a colored American was in the person of one who had gone to Liberia, and that the ablest, most eloquent, and most widely known individuals of the race who remain here were not named. Mention of them would have called to the minds of the audience those who are resolved to remain in their native land, and demonstrate, not only by word, but by deed, by daily life, the folly of the colonization scheme ; and lesser names supply their places.

Mr. Everett's illustration of the moral elevation of the colored race in our country is the story of a slave who went with his master to California, nursed him through a severe sickness in the mines, stood by his death bed and closed his eyes when life was gone, buried him in a decent grave, and went home to the banks of the Red River in Louisiana to lay down the gold they had dug at the feet of the widow. A beautiful instance, indeed, of faithful attachment, that should put many an Anglo-Saxon to shame. The question came to our mind, in reading the touching story, whether there were not chords tugging at his heart-strings, helping to draw him back to the plantation ; whether a loving wife and lovely children might not be waiting his return, so that a double joy would thrill his heart as he laid the hard-earned treasure at the feet of a needy widow, and clasped to his bosom those he loved better than life. The incident may have been intended as a praiseworthy illustration of fidelity and dutiful obedience to a master's command. We accept it as a *good anti-colonization argument* — for surely it must be the height of folly to colonize to Liberia, or any where else, a race capable of supplying such a noble example of constancy and self-sacrifice. We are not rich enough in moral worth to

expatriate those in whose natures lie folded germs which may unfold and ripen into such celestial fruit.

The graceful eloquence of Edward Everett might well have cast its charmed spell over the minds of his hearers, shedding around the colonization enterprise the rich glow of a beautiful philanthropy, and throwing tastefully into the shade the hideous aspects of the movement; the reading of that address may answer its purpose of confirming men of kindly feeling in the false idea that the Colonization Society is a chosen means of blessing the colored race and redeeming a continent from darkness and barbarism; *but the representative of the slaveholder stood by his side*, and uttered his word in behalf of that INEXORABLE POWER that uses the society AS ITS INSTRUMENT AND SERVANT. REV. CHAS. H. REED, of Virginia, spoke after Mr. Everett, and instituted an inquiry into the "cardinal principle of public morals by which we are animated in the advocacy and support of this work of African colonization." And to answer that inquiry, states that, according to Rev. Dr. Stiles, human rights may be divided into "the right of existence, the right of happiness, and the *right of supervision*;" that "God in his providence and creation frequently places man in a state of dependence, wherein the enjoyment of his natural rights can never be reached without progressive development *under competent supervision*;" this indicates a *right* of supervision. The infant," he says, "illustrates this right, and it becomes in the parent a *duty*." "An incapacity for self-government" creates a similar right on the part of those incompetent; and to come to the *grand application* of his argument: "Now, it has so happened, in the providence of God, that we have here in the midst of us a large and rapidly augmenting population, *whose incompetency* on account of poverty, ignorance, inferiority of condition by reason of color, and the

oppressive influence — if you please to so denominate it — of caste, has justly awakened a deep and earnest sympathy in their behalf. . . . Here too is a question of policy and safety, which may well engage the combined wisdom and energies of society and of the state.

“It is utterly impracticable to blend the white and colored races on this continent, to merge the distinction; the antagonism is irreconcilable. Between the upper and nether stones of cheap white labor on the one hand, and slave labor on the other, *they must be ground to powder*. In this situation they must go down, unless the *right and duty* of supervision shall come to be felt.” . . . Here is a *cardinal principle*, “a *moral obligation*, as well as a *political necessity*.”

This doctrine of “supervision” would apply admirably abroad as well as at home. Louis Napoleon doubtless is exercising his duty as *grand supervisor* of a people whose “*incompetency*,” *in his opinion*, makes it wise and kind to destroy freedom of the press. Joseph of Austria doubtless felt it a duty to exercise his sacred right of “supervision” over Kossuth and other “incompetent” Hungarians.

In our own country, the Colonization Society is asking aid from the people and the state and general governments to *supervise into Liberia* the free colored people, *kindly* telling how they will be “ground to powder” unless they consent to this beneficent supervision!

FAVORS EXPULSION OF THE FREE COLORED PEOPLE.

THE real object of the Colonization Society is the *expulsion of the* WHOLE FREE COLORED POPULATION *from the country*; a scheme of wholesale expatriation unparalleled in its atrocity and wickedness, and which, if carried out, would be highly detrimental to the best interest as well as the character and morals of the country. If their own estimation of the colored people be at all correct, it would be ruinous to Africa; but of that more in due time. Evidence on this point is abundant, and as some portions of it are given, the reader will readily see how thin and transparent is the veil of "voluntary, cheerful" consent, by which the purpose of driving an unoffending people from the land is covered.

We shall first give proofs of the desire and resolve for expatriation, and then show how the society allies itself with all oppressive legislation tending to crush the colored man, and remove from him the shield of legal protection.

"I am not complaining of the owners of slaves. *It would be as humane to throw them from the decks in the middle passage as to set them free in our country.* . . . The Colonization Society presents such a scheme. *Slaveholders have given it their approval; they will approve it, and can approve no other.* Any scheme of emancipation without colonization they know, and see, and feel to be productive of nothing but evil; evil to all whom it affects, to the whites, the slaves, the manumitted themselves." (Af. Rep. iv. 226, 300.)

"Who, if this promiscuous residence of whites and blacks,

of freemen and slaves, is forever to continue, can imagine the servile wars, the carnage and the crimes, which will be its probable consequences, without shuddering with horror? . . . Gentlemen of the highest respectability from the south assure us that there is among the owners of slaves a very extensive and increasing desire to emancipate them. Their patriotism, their humanity, nay, their self-interest, prompt to this; but it is not expedient, it is not safe, to do it, *without being able to remove them.* . . . How important it is, as it respects our character abroad, that we HASTEN TO CLEAR OUR LAND OF OUR BLACK POPULATION! . . . What right, I demand, have the children of Africa to a home in the white man's country? Let the regenerated African rise to empire; nay, let genius flourish and philosophy shed its mild beams to enlighten and instruct the posterity of Ham, returning, "redeemed and disenthralled," from their long captivity in the new world. But, sir, be all these benefits enjoyed by the African race under the shade of their native palms. Let the Atlantic billow heave its high and everlasting barrier between their country and ours." (Idem, vi. 23, 110, &c.)

"In a majority of the states the legislation is unfavorable to them, and is steadily becoming more so; in none is it changing for the better. White laborers from Europe are coming by hundreds of thousands annually and crowding them out of employment. Such discouragements *force them* to think of Liberia." (Mass. Col. Soc., Eleventh Ann. Rep.)

"For the future, all appearances indicate a *rapid progress*; . . . the colored man's prospects of a happy home here are continually growing darker. The unwillingness to have a large free colored population is steadily increasing in all those states exposed to it. In the slave states it is universal, and constitutes one of their strongest objections against immediate emancipation on the soil. . . . Nor

are the bordering states willing to receive them. . . . The fierce contest which has been waged concerning the rights of colored men, bond or free, has extensively fastened public attention upon them as a source of public discord and danger. . . . In this state of public feeling there is much that is inexcusably wrong. Still it exists; it is growing, and is likely to grow, and impede their prosperity here." (Idem, Tenth Ann. Rep.)

In Massachusetts, such is the strength of antislavery feeling, and so vigilant are the abolitionists, that colonizationists express themselves more guardedly than elsewhere. Some too are doubtless men of real kindness of feeling towards the colored people. But the Massachusetts Colonization Society lends liberal "material aid" to the funds of the parent society, and is subject to — one in spirit with — that wicked association, however fair an aspect it may assume.

"The sentiment is fast becoming national, that the two races must separate. . . . To what is it to be attributed? To what but that mighty immigration, which has built across the Atlantic the bridge of boats, one abutment of which is in New York, and over which comes with heavy tramp, in the shape of a vast multitude, power! Power to add to our national strength and raise still higher the fabric of our national renown; power to construct our railroads and canals; *power before which the free black man must flee as from the wrath to come.*" (Speech of J. H. B. Latrobe. N. Y. Col. Soc., May, 1852.)

"A more barren present, a more hopeless future, than that of the free colored people in the United States, cannot exist. *America is the white man's home: God has so ordered it.* . . . When the drain westward ceases, should the two races . . . still occupy the same land, there will be a strife for bread cruel and murderous; a strife in which the fate of the weaker colored race may be

terribly imagined." (Letter of same person in reply to Victor Hugo's Letter to Mrs. Chapman of July 6, 1851.)

Mr. Latrobe has long been a leading colonizationist. The reader can see with what malign spirit he stirs the waters of strife between the foreign emigrant and the colored man, and calls on the latter to "flee as from the wrath to come."

"In no part of the Union do the free blacks enjoy an equality of social and political privileges in all the states; their presence is neither *agreeable to the whites*, nor is their condition advantageous to themselves. . . . The *emigration of this entire population* beyond the limits of our country is the only effectual mode of curing these evils, and of removing one cause of dangerous irritation between the different sections of the Union." (Report of Committee in Congress in favor of Line of Steamers to Africa. Af. Rep. xxvi. 268.)

"Hitherto they (free blacks) have been disposed to emigrate as rapidly as the means at the disposal of the various societies made it proper, or the condition of the colonies made it prudent to send them; and this *may* continue to be the case. There are, however, various causes in operation which *may beget a different result*. . . . The power of each state is uncontrollable over the subject within its own borders. *All the states, and especially the slave states, have interests at stake sufficiently important to demand a public interposition.* This should take place whenever it occurs, in a manner consistent with the character of a great and *just* commonwealth. . . . If it is our deliberate judgment they ought to be removed, let us remove them. Let us do it as for the common good of all, not sordidly and wickedly, but with a compassion and conviction as *earnest as the force which necessity may oblige us to employ.*" (Address of R. J. Breckenridge on "The Black Race," to Ky. Col. Soc. Af. Rep., May, 1851.)

The plain English of this is, *all* the states, and *especially* the slave states, must colonize the free blacks, *voluntarily* if they can, *forcibly* if they must.

In another part of his address he says, "For myself, I am not only ready to admit, but I earnestly contend, that no question touching the black race in this country shall be allowed for a moment to compromise the far higher and more important interest of the white race and of the country itself. . . . I earnestly invoke God's blessing upon every race of men, but above them all I cherish with devotion and hope the advancement of my own."

Would he build up a favored race by driving away a feebler one? If so, he has yet to learn that "righteousness [*alone*] exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people." The editor of the *African Repository* commends this address, saying, "And when viewed in connection with the condition and destiny of that class of the human family, . . . and with the *benevolent* scheme of colonization, . . . it cannot fail to prove interesting to every man."

"The free negroes in the border states and in all the free states afford means of concealment to the fugitive slave, which would not exist if the free blacks were fewer, or if there were none at all. . . . He is concealed, lost, and hurried away, undistinguished amid the crowds of his own color, whose natural sympathies are enlisted to shield him from pursuit. I say natural sympathies, for I cannot condemn a feeling which springs from the common instinct of human nature, however unfortunate may be its effects as a cause of irritation between two sections. It is this deep instinctive sympathy also which arrays in opposition to the execution of the laws those excited crowds of black men, which have sometimes rescued the fugitive slave by open violence. . . . I do not believe this would be done by white men alone. . . . Here then

we have the origin and most powerful incentive of that spirit of resistance to the laws, which has of late been so baleful to the peace and harmony of these states. Is not the remedy plain — the obvious remedy of colonization? . . . The contact of the free negro with the white people of the northern states tends to foster and keep alive the spirit of abolition. Without the continual presence of a large portion of the black race, there would be little for this excitement to feed on, and fanaticism, becoming merely theoretical, would be shorn of its greatest danger. . . . If it has been upon this ground — to maintain the rights and just powers of the states and the free and unincumbered workings of the federal government — that it (the government) has assumed and exercised the authority to remove various tribes of native Indians, then I cannot conceive on what ground such authority has been maintained. I have been wholly unable to draw the distinction between the removal of the Indians and of the free blacks. Nor am I aware that the power to do this has ever been seriously, certainly not successfully, questioned. The Constitution of the United States confers upon the government the power to suppress insurrections. I need not say, that with an increase of this population — a distinct caste so closely united by the profoundest sympathies — the greatest danger of insurrection to be apprehended in our country will come, directly or indirectly, from that quarter. Must the government wait until the torch of civil war has been lighted? Must it wait until the gutters of our cities are filled with blood, when it may be too late to extinguish the conflagration, and when the footsteps of lawful power may be insecure upon the streets made slippery by the gore of our citizens?" (Speech of Hon. F. P. Stanton, of Tenn. Thirty-fourth Annual Meeting, 1851.)

Why should not the free black be removed? Surely

reasons are plenty as fallen leaves in autumn against his remaining here. Does he not rescue fugitives, at the peril of breaking that blessed hope of our glorious Union, the Fugitive Slave Law? Does not his presence keep alive this pestilent spirit of *abolition*, and thereby lead men not merely to keep their principles on parchment, to be read on the fourth of July, but to practise them daily, and seek to lead church and state to do likewise? Have we not driven away the red man? Who shall say nay, when we say to the black man, "You are not wanted"? "An ounce of preventive is worth a pound of cure;" these pestilent negroes *may* rebel some day; let us be wise, and send them away in time. Good colonization argument from a prime mover of the "Ebony Line" scheme, addressing the assembled leaders of the society at Washington!

It is just to Mr. Stanton to say, that the resolution to which he spoke commenced thus: "That the harmony of the states of this Union would be promoted by the *voluntary* emigration of the free blacks," &c. That word "voluntary" the speaker, in the fervor of his zeal, probably forgot; the awful picture of rapine and bloodshed quite drove it from his mind. Small matters are often forgotten in discussing weighty interests, and sagacious minds cast in a large mould cannot be always hampered by petty details.

"How long will it be after the resources of Liberia are fully developed, and it is shown to be a safe and comfortable home for colored people, before they will begin to go there spontaneously? And who can tell how long it will be before they will go there *because they cannot help it*? (The italics are *not* ours.) The inducements there and *reasons here* for their emigration will be overpowering." (Speech of Rev. Joel Parker, D. D. Thirtieth Annual Meeting, 1847.)

"To the slaveholding states this is a question of the

most vital importance. I have long been of opinion, that their welfare and *safety* imperiously demanded the *removal* of all free colored persons from their borders; and this policy, I have reason to believe, would have been adopted, but for the difficulty of providing a cheap and comfortable removal and a comfortable home. Your plan obviates these objections. Most of the difficulties which have arisen in slaveholding countries have been planned and encouraged by free colored persons. . . . The slaves *cannot* be removed, but the free colored people can be, and the security of both master and servant promoted." (Letter of HON. T. BUTLER KING, of Alabama, to F. P. Stanton, on Mail Steamers to Africa. Washington, 1850.)

Mr. King, it will be noticed, is careful to say, "the slaves *cannot* be removed," — meaning, of course, without the consent of their masters, — but the free colored people *can*, and *should be*, (*voluntarily, of course*), to make slave property more secure.

It is needless to multiply these quotations. Those who gain access to colonization publications will find such revelations of the *real spirit and purpose* of the movement as call to mind the dark and narrow bigotry and relentless cruelty of the days when every Moor was driven from his home in Spain, for the glory of the "true church," and the "happiness of the realm of their most Catholic majesties."

The pen of the historian has associated forever the names of those prominent in that merciless crusade with the memory of one of the most terrible dramas of the "dark and bloody past;" but if the colonization project of wholesale expatriation of an unoffending and much injured race should succeed, the future historian, in that glad day when "the guilty fantasy, that man can hold property in his fellow man," shall be repudiated, writing in the full light of a world's liberty, shall associate the American

Colonization Society and its leading advocates with the record of deeds of cruel and relentless barbarity, which, taking the greater light of the age into account, will be, in the eyes of every reader, worse than those perpetrated by the fierce Spaniard.

FAVORS PROSCRIPTIVE LEGISLATION.—ASKS GOVERNMENTAL AID.

IN the last chapter are evidences of a fixed and relentless purpose, on the part of those who *control* the colonization movement, to expel the colored people from the country. Let us now look at the means employed to further that end, by enlisting the aid of general and state government, and fostering or conniving at oppressive legislation. These two subjects are so closely connected, they can be examined briefly together.

Hatred of the colored man has shown itself in laws depriving him of the right of suffrage, of his testimony in court, of his right of residence unless bonds were given for his support in case of poverty, of his right to make contracts for labor, &c. These enactments have been stringent in several of the free states, in all the slave states, and would probably make it easier in some cases to gain a “voluntary, cheerful” consent to go to Liberia.

We shall find the Colonization Society and its *leading* advocates raising no earnest and constant voice against this state of things — uttering a word, it may be, in some few instances, in disapproval of some of the worst and most revolting enactments — as though fearful of the fiends they had helped call into existence; but no free and indignant rebuke in its official documents, such as might *tell* on the guilty legislators; no stirring bursts of eloquence in behalf of a race robbed even of legal protection in the able addresses of its chosen orators.

On the contrary, we shall see its agents busily at work, where the worst of these efforts to “frame iniquity into a

law " are going on, its journals ready and careful to publish every act of oppressive legislation as a new evidence of the invincibility of that prejudice which, they hold, " religion itself " cannot subdue ; sometimes making comments, sometimes giving simple facts, with no word of assent or dissent ; sometimes copying a vile article from some negro-hating, proslavery newspaper, to serve the double purpose of saying what they care not to say themselves, and giving proof that the fate of the negro must be to " wither beneath the shadow of the Saxon ; " pursuing such course, in short, as a crafty and skilful policy may deem best.

In regard to governmental aid, the advocates of colonization are urging their claims with ceaseless industry, enlisting every compromising politician, who may think he can help " save the Union," without any *special* detriment to his own good standing, calling for responses from the press which are in many cases readily given. It is mainly the movements of the last five years we wish to expose, but a few revelations of the past will show that there has been no change of spirit or purpose. Twenty years ago, the New York colonizationists said, in a memorial to the legislature, —

" We do not wish that the provisions of our constitution and statute book should be so modified as to *relieve* or *exalt* the condition of the colored people while they remain among us. *Let those provisions stand in all their rigor*, to work out the ultimate and unbounded good of this people."

The oppressive provisions of the statute book only " working out the ultimate and unbounded good " of those they aimed to crush ! That " good " was probably to be sought in Africa, under the benevolent auspices of this band of philanthropists ; and the " rigor " of the provisions would tend to gain *voluntary* consent to embark in the perilous search, and thus remove to a " safe distance " from

southern slaveholders and northern men seized with *color-phobia*.

In 1831, the legislature of Maryland resolved, that the evils "growing out of the connection" of her "increasing free colored population with the slaves," and their depriving laboring whites of "a large portion of employment," were grave evils; that, "as philanthropists and lovers of freedom," they "deplored the existence of slavery among them," but considered "*unrestricted manumission*" as of "more dangerous tendency than slavery;" that colonizing to Africa free people of color would "diminish these evils;" and chose a committee to bring in a bill "on these principles." At the next session, a report was made that all the free blacks might be removed in a generation, and that the slaves, being property, should only be taken by consent of masters; and an Appropriation Act was passed, placing two hundred thousand dollars, in yearly instalments, in the hands of the Maryland Colonization Society, and forbidding manumission unless the slaves were sent beyond the state. Another act, passed *two days after*, provided that no free colored man could leave the state on any condition for more than a month, without *being sold* on his return, unless certain difficult legal formalities were complied with, beyond the ability of most to execute correctly; that no colored man should come into the state without paying *fifty dollars a week* while remaining, or, in default, being sold by the sheriff for a time long enough to satisfy the demand. Colored persons were prohibited from attending religious meetings, except when conducted by whites, and whites were forbidden to buy "corn, pork, tobacco, &c., &c.," from free negroes, unless they could show certificates they *came honestly* by the articles; and when convicted of *any crime* not capital, the free negro or mulatto, at the pleasure of the court, could receive the usual legal punishment, be banished from the state, or

transported to some foreign country. These barbarous enactments need no comment, and in view of them the American Colonization Society passed the following resolve, (Annual Meeting, 1833 :) —

“That this society views with the *highest gratification* the continued efforts of Maryland to accomplish her patriotic and *benevolent* system in regard to her colored population ; and that the late appropriation by the state, of two hundred thousand dollars, in aid of African colonization, is *hailed* by the friends of the system as a *bright example* to the other states.”

It will be noticed that the Maryland Colonization Society proposes to be a remedy for slavery. The following resolve was passed at one of its meetings : —

“ *Resolved*, That this society believe, and act upon the belief, that colonization tends to promote emancipation, by affording the emancipated slave a home where he can be happier than in this country, and so inducing masters to manumit who would not do so unconditionally.” (Af. Rep. iii. 5.)

And the managers declared their belief that, “at a time not remote,” slavery would cease in the state by the “full consent” of those interested. The laws of the state, as we have seen, prohibited emancipation, with freedom to remain on the soil ; all due care was taken to gain the “voluntary” consent of the free colored people to go to Africa by most oppressive laws ; a donation of two hundred thousand dollars was made by the state to the society, — this sum increased, of course, by individual contributions, — and what is the result ? The Maryland society has always carried on its operations independently ; has had its own colony at Cape Palmas, some two hundred and twenty-five miles south-east of Monrovia ; and by a statement made in 1852, in the Thirty-fifth Annual Report of the American Colonization Society, had settled in that

colony *about eight hundred persons!* A mighty evidence of the wish of the Maryland slaveholders to abolish slavery! A striking proof of that alleged wish was also furnished in the Maryland House of Delegates, when, in 1834, a member (Mr. Mann) moved an inquiry into the expediency of abolishing slavery after a certain period, which produced such a storm that the mover withdrew his proposal, and the minute was expunged from the journal of the house.

A simple fact reveals the real character and influence of the scheme which the leading members of the American Colonization Society viewed as so "benevolent," and spoke of with the "highest gratification." The *Maryland Temperance Journal*, of May 3, 1835, says, —

"The time is not far distant, as every reflecting man must be convinced, when the safety of the country will require the *expulsion* of the blacks. The state has already adopted this plan, (colonization.) . . . The African coast will be strewn with cities, and then, when some *fearful convulsion* makes it necessary to BANISH THE WHOLE MULTITUDE AT ONCE, a home and refuge shall be provided in the land of their fathers."

But let us turn to a later period. In 1850, (March 11.) an act was passed by the Virginia legislature, appropriating thirty thousand dollars per year, for five years, to aid the American Colonization Society in removing colored persons, *free* and *residents* of the state *at the date of its passage*, allowing only twenty-five dollars for each adult, and fifteen dollars for children under ten years of age. The act also levies a tax of *one dollar annually* on every free black male between the ages of twenty-one and fifty-five, which is to be added to the thirty thousand dollars, and will amount to about fifteen thousand dollars. It will be noticed that this act only allows the removal of *residents free* at the date of its passage; and as the laws of the state

forbid emancipation with liberty to remain in its borders, of course *it does not at all encourage manumission*. But the colonizationists rejoice at this infamous act, even while it compels its victims to help pay the price of transporting their dearest friends to Africa, who shall be induced to go voluntarily, perhaps, by *persuasive floggings* at midnight, once alluded to by a Virginian, as administered in such cases. They say, —

"The Virginia legislature has made a *noble beginning* in the work. . . . It will be productive of *great good*, and ultimately lead to the adoption of whatever measures are necessary to meet the demands of the enterprise, so far as Virginia is concerned. . . . The time has arrived when something effectual *must be done*. . . . Several schemes are now before the convention of that state. An intelligent correspondent thinks they will not act hastily or rashly, but with prudence, combined with firmness." (Thirty-fourth Annual Report American Col. Soc.)

This act they also dignify as "*a great moral demonstration of the propriety and necessity of state action*"! Published with the Thirty-third Annual Report is an Address to the Legislature and People of Virginia, by Rev. Mr. Slaughter, (Agent Va. Col. Soc.) in which the free colored people are spoken of as "*an evil of enormous magnitude*." With the Thirty-second Report is a Memorial to the Virginia Legislature, the first paragraph of which closes by saying, "*The time has come when, if we do not boldly grapple the difficulties and control them, they will control us ;*" and the memorialists, after talking of "*the St. Domingo tragedy*," have a smooth word about the elevation of Africa and the suppression of the slave trade, conclude the work "*ought to be done now ;*" and Mr. Bailey (Agent of Am. Col. Soc.) *specially commends* the memorial. Two years afterward the "*difficulties*," so strongly alluded to, were, partially at least, "*grappled*," and the Coloniza-

tion Society, in its official report, rejoices with joy exceeding!

Let us turn to similar movements in the west. In the Annual Report and Proceedings of the Society for 1849, we find a Memorial to the Senate and Representatives of Ohio, by DAVID CHRISTY, (Agent Am. Col. Soc. for Ohio.) A document peculiarly calculated, and doubtless intended, to stir up strange fears, and help on the evil work of keeping alive jealousy and bitter prejudice in that and the neighboring states. He states that, —

“Previous to 1800, the New England States had an increasing colored population, but that from 1800 to 1840 that population remained nearly stationary in numbers. Meanwhile New York and Pennsylvania had an increase, showing that emigration must have been southward, until, from 1830 to 1840, these states began to repel this class of people, and the increase was only one per cent. yearly; Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia, during the same time, repelled half their natural increase;” and he concludes that a stream of colored emigration from *fifteen states* had “been concentrating with almost equal rapidity in the Ohio valley.” Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, in 1800, had only five hundred colored population; in 1830, it had increased to fourteen thousand eight hundred and thirty-four; in 1840, to twenty-eight thousand and fifteen; and is estimated in 1850 at fifty thousand, of which Ohio has about thirty thousand. His conclusion is, that “the Ohio valley is the focus toward which nearly the entire free colored population of the country is concentrating; . . . no ordinary precaution can check this movement. We cannot, by any legislation, reach the causes which compel them to leave other states. We cannot change the climate of the north-east, . . . nor roll back the mighty tide of foreign emigration, which supplies the east with a surplus of cheap labor,

and drives the man of color west to seek bread. . . . It is still more impracticable to induce the slave states to give up the prejudices which drive the colored man from among them; . . . the Ohio valley is, therefore, to become the asylum for the victims of slave oppression, and has been *selected by the colored man as the theatre upon which the great battle for the achievement of his rights is to be fought.*"

He fails to mention the fact, that, during the past fifty years, the white population of that same region has swelled from about fifty thousand to three millions and a half. When we remember, too, that the whole free colored population of the country is only some six hundred thousand, (their natural increase being, according to Mr. Christy, two per cent. yearly,) how many of the growing millions in the older sections of our country are, and will be, turning westward, what a vast stream of foreign emigration is pouring into that region, it must at once be seen that, even supposing, what is beyond probability, that forty years hence half the free colored population shall be in the Ohio valley, their number would be very small compared to the millions of whites who will then be residents there; and the broad territory and great fertility of soil would afford room enough, support abundant, for all. The far west, stretching away to the distant Pacific, is open, too, for the white man or the black man.

So the phantoms conjured up by the evil imagination of this colonization agent vanish into "airy nothings," when looked at with cool and undistorted vision. How absurd, too, the idea of a people dwelling in so wide and rich a land, who are constantly saying to the millions of Europe, "There's room enough for all," being alarmed lest a few colored people may seek a home among them! how *basely wicked* the thought that there is no room in the beautiful valley of the Ohio for the colored man! But the coloni-

zationist is not content even to "leave prejudices as they are ;" they *might* die out, and then the society would die with them, when it were sad indeed to think of poor benighted Africa, whither no more "nuisances" might go as missionaries under its benevolent auspices ! Mr. Christy is in earnest in this matter ; feels deeply his responsibility, doubtless. He thinks the colored man has selected his place, whereon to turn, like the desperate stag at bay, and fight his "great battle for the achievement of his rights ;" this is his last refuge ; "forewarned, forearmed," should be the motto ; that all may be ready to make the last grand onslaught upon this abused race a successful one, and send them (*of course, only with cheerful, voluntary, consent*) to Liberia. Men of Ohio, of the north-west, what say you ? Will you join in this crusade ? It would seem (so devout colonizationists say) that Providence has prepared this race to evangelize Africa. Can you, will you, allow them long to remain here, and thus seek to defeat such wise designs ?

The memorial states that the framers of the constitution "never intended to *Africanize* the state," and that there is a "fixedness of purpose" on the part of the great majority of the whites never to allow the colored man "equal social or political privileges." . . . "This decision is not based upon hostility to the black man, but upon the conviction that the true interests of both recognize a distinct political organization." The advantages of Liberia are duly set forth ; mention is made of a proposed purchase of a territory north of Liberia, to be called Ohio in Africa ; and an appropriation is asked for in aid of colonization. The appropriation has not, we believe, been granted. In the Society's Report for 1851, it is said that, in Ohio, "the scheme of colonization is one, not mere-ly of humanity and sound policy, but of *great and overpowering necessity*."

In 1850, we find Mr. Christy giving lectures to the members of the Legislature and State Constitutional Convention, (of course, it was all-important that a new constitution they were framing should be as well calculated as possible to work out the "ultimate and unbounded good" of the colored people.) In one of these lectures the advantages to the slaves of having lived in this land of "free Christianity" are enlarged upon, the condition of the slave here contrasted with his condition in other countries, and the conclusion reached that our slavery is the most *elevating* in the world; "that *only* in the United States can the *white man* obtain possession and free exercise of all the elements of civilization and progress;" that it is only here that "the colored man has had the opportunity (for which he should praise God and thank the slave traders and owners) of enjoying any part of these blessings, and witnessing any portion of the whole;" and that *only* the United States "possesses the necessary agents, in the persons of intelligent and industrious colored men," ("nuisances," "the most abandoned in our land"?) "to recover Africa from barbarism, and bestow upon that benighted land, as we are now doing in Liberia, all the elements" of civilization, &c.

In another lecture a scheme is shadowed forth dimly to purchase and transport to Africa all the slaves, and by their labor there seek to substitute tropical products produced by free labor, in place of those produced by slave labor, which now supply the markets and employ the commerce of the world. A scheme admirably calculated to create a complacent feeling of benevolence in the minds of his hearers, as they dreamily thought of its execution in the distant future, *of course, eminently practicable*. It may be, ere long, one of the results of the growing strength of the antislavery movement, that slaveholders, seeing they cannot long retain their "human chattels," may propose

the compromise of a wholesale purchase. Colonizationists are keen to follow the instincts of slavery.

In the session of the legislature of Ohio, in 1852-3, a bill was introduced into the Senate, commonly known as "CUSHING'S BILL," from its author's name. Its *infamous provisions* were, that after January 1, 1854, no black or mulatto, not a resident of the state, should be allowed to settle therein ; that every resident shall register his or her name, and pay a fee for the registration ; all not registered to be treated as non-residents ; non-residents not to hold real estate, and any devised to them to be forfeit to the state ; those violating the act to be imprisoned not less than six months ; assessors and recorders to make and compare lists of colored persons, and return to the prosecuting attorney any names found not registered, who shall arrest and prosecute such persons, and shall also institute suits for estates to be forfeited. Assessors, recorders, and prosecuting attorneys failing to do these duties, to be fined fifty dollars and made incapable of holding any office of trust or profit in the state. The bill was defeated, and Ohio saved from the disgrace of its passage. In the *African Repository* of April, 1853, we find an abstract of this bill, under the heading, "Negro Exclusion," published without a word of comment.

Let us now turn to Indiana. In 1850, the *Indiana State Sentinel* said, "Two years ago the friends of Liberia in this state commenced a system of petition and correspondence, inviting the attention of the statesmen of the nation to the subject of a national plan of colonization. . . . The nation is fully ripe for the movement ; and what we rejoice in is, that our own state has nobly taken the lead and kept it ; 'the joint resolutions' of our General Assembly on the subject have been published, with expressions of much favor, in the leading journals of our own country, and have found their way to Europe and Africa." This is

copied in a pamphlet on "Colonization by a Line of Mail Steamers." The next year the governor of that state, in his annual message to the legislature, highly commends colonization, and says, "In the great struggle for the separation of the black man from the white, *let Indiana take her stand* ; put her agent into the field ; her citizens are ready."

This we find in an extract from his message in the Annual Report of the American Colonization Society for 1851, and in the same report it is stated that "a large majority of the citizens of Indiana are warmly in favor of some state action ; . . . feel keenly the *evils* arising from the existence of two distinct races on the same soil." The iniquitous provisions of the new constitution of Indiana, framed in 1850-51, are given, by which negroes and mulattoes are excluded hereafter from settling in their limits ; all contracts made with them declared void ; any one employing them, or encouraging them to remain in the state, liable to a fine from ten to one hundred dollars, and all such fines to be appropriated to the colonization of free colored people in the state ! All the comment made on these atrocious provisions is, "This article is to be submitted to a separate vote of the people. There is scarcely a doubt it will be adopted ; yet it is taking ground *ahead* of any other state. It *was thought* very cruel in Illinois, a short time ago, to adopt a policy to prevent any more free colored persons from coming into the state. But this action of Indiana goes *far ahead* of that, and looks to their ultimate and entire removal from the state !"

In notes are appended an extract from the *Cincinnati Daily Commercial*, telling of the "pestiferous class of free blacks," of the "growing impudence" of the Ohio negro population, and commending the Indiana provisions ; also part of a speech by Mr. Morrison, of Indiana, in the con-

stitutional convention, giving his reasons for excluding the negroes, and divesting them hereafter of the right of holding property — he would “increase their disabilities,” hoping “the results may be most advantageous to themselves,” by leading them to go elsewhere; and an apologetic article from the *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser*, which “cannot sympathize with the spirit which prompts the introduction of such sweepingly proscriptive provisions into the constitution of a free state;” still sees in them only an evidence of a feeling every where existing, and thinks, is sanguine, that the “colonizing the colored population” of the country can be accomplished, “with proper governmental aid;” but the free blacks must be “recovered from the malign influence of their worst enemies, the ultra abolitionists, before much can be accomplished.”

In April, 1852, an act passed the Indiana legislature, appropriating five thousand dollars, and also the *fines* collected for violation of the constitution by colored persons in the provisions touching them, and such voluntary contributions as might be made, as a fund for colonization, to be placed at the disposal of a state board, composed of the governor, secretary, and auditor of the state. This board met in March, 1853, at Indianapolis, placed one thousand dollars at the disposal of the secretary of the Colonization Society, and arranged to place other funds in his hands, to colonize emigrants sent by them to Liberia; they also chose REV. JAS. MITCHELL agent and secretary, authorized him to spend a portion of his time in the states of Illinois, Michigan, and Iowa, and directed the governor to correspond with the governors of those states, to obtain their coöperation in the work.

The *African Repository* for May, 1853, publishes the act and proceedings, merely speaking of it as “showing what had been done by the authorities of Indiana” to aid those “who may desire assistance to enable them to emigrate;”

and commends Mr. Mitchell as also a "regularly commissioned agent" of the parent society, saying, "We are pleased to see that the friends of colonization in Indiana have resolved to sustain him in his work."

What kindly coöperation ! After these legislators have done all that law-making could do to drive the colored people from the state, by framing a constitution unequalled for its grinding oppression so far as they are concerned, and a legislature sworn to support its provisions have passed an act appropriating the fines inhumanly wrung from colored men by the action of that terrible "bond," to aid in their expatriation to Liberia, the agent of the American Colonization Society — sustaining also the relation to this Indiana board of agent — can do the work of both, and find that work as it were one, since the moneys raised in the west pass into the office at Washington. This is the testimony this benevolent association, so full of solicitude for the colored man in Africa, bears in regard to his oppression here !

The Thirty-second Annual Report, already quoted from in the next paragraph, after its comments on the Indiana constitution, says, —

"*Not far* behind the convention of Indiana comes on the legislature of Iowa, that young and vigorous state ;" and then says they have introduced a bill for the removal of all colored persons emancipated in other states, and hereafter settling in that, and *disqualifying those already there from holding any more real estate.*

What noble emulation ! In the eye of these official colonization authorities Iowa, young but vigorous, is "*not far behind*" Indiana in these movements !

ILLINOIS passed "An Act to prevent the Emigration of Free Negroes into this State," which went into operation early in the present year. It prohibits any person from bringing any negro or mulatto, bond or free, into the state,

to remain, under penalty of from one hundred to five hundred dollars, and imprisonment for a year; colored persons or slaves can pass through the state; prohibits any negro or mulatto, bond or free, from staying in the state ten days with intent to remain, under a penalty of fifty dollars, to be adjudged by jury trials; if the fine be not paid, the offender, after ten days' notice, is to be *sold by the sheriff, at auction*, to the person who will pay such fine for the shortest term of the culprit's servitude, to clothe and lodge their servant comfortably while working out the fine; a repetition is fined fifty dollars — *half the fine goes to the complainant*, half to the poor; slave claimants can take their "property" when under arrest for breach of this law by paying costs, and, on due proof, justices of the peace refusing to issue writs shall be deemed guilty of *non-feasance*; where the jury find the negro or mulatto not guilty, they shall render judgment against the complainant or prosecuting witness, who can have the right of appeal; one fourth negro blood shall be deemed a mulatto.

An abstract of this act is published in the *Repository* for April, with a few comments from the *Journal of Commerce*. We look in vain through the official organ for one word of manly protest against its nefarious provisions. The editor of the *New York Colonization Journal* speaks of it as a "retrograde movement, altogether adverse to the tendencies of this age and country;" says that "the possibility of introducing a species of slavery in a free state is astonishing. . . . So far as the Colonization Society is concerned, it *cannot sympathize* with any harsh or oppressive treatment of the free colored population. Its members, as far as we know them at the north, and chiefly at the south, mourn over the continuance of slavery in our country as a great evil to white and black alike," and have looked earnestly for its abolition by act of legislature, &c. He thinks that, "as an act of self-respect, the

next legislature will repeal the act." We give his word, that such credit as may be due be awarded. Well may Mr. Pinney be astonished at this result of a spirit fostered by the movement of which he has been long a laborious and earnest advocate ; doubtless other colonizationists at the north share this astonishment. Let such remember that the labors of colonization agents, and the speeches of colonization orators, have helped to kindle this fire, that has left its black and disgraceful stain on the statute books of a state which should be pure from such pollution ; let them think of the efforts made to awaken the jealous fears of the dweller in the Ohio valley. As to the society not sympathizing with oppressive treatment, all can judge how that has been, from the facts presented : this mourning over slavery is an old process ; many a slave driver does that. If a few leading colonizationists would even send their slaves to Liberia, it might be some small evidence of their sorrow.

In the Thirty-fourth Annual Report, the appropriation of Virginia—about forty-five thousand dollars for five years—is hailed as a noble *beginning*. In the thirty-sixth report, it is stated that New Jersey has taken the lead among free states, with one thousand yearly for two years. Pennsylvania has granted two thousand, and Indiana five thousand, (no mention of the *fines* ;) and these grants, gained by much importunity, are hailed only as small beginnings of a great work.

Resolves are also published in favor of colonization by the legislatures of Louisiana, Alabama, and Connecticut ; and Governor Hunt, of New York, receives due meed of praise for his appeal to the legislature for an appropriation ; the subject, they are assured, " will not be allowed to sleep " in that quarter. Thus we see with what craft, and skill, and ceaseless perseverance the society moves along in its evil work.

In 1849, in the Appendix of the Annual Report, is an article on appropriations by general and state governments, urging that the time has now come for "more enlarged operations." They say that "if the presence of the Indian tribes in our midst was a great evil, requiring their removal, surely the existence of the colored race is a great political evil, and their removal an immense national blessing," and government has the "power to act." If their presence has been a good to us, but an evil to them, then certainly we are bound in duty to remove them; there is a "moral fitness" in the work. The memorials to Ohio and Virginia, asking for appropriations, are given. It is stated, together, as they present the reasons why the two great sections of the union should act. It will be remembered that the main reason offered to Virginia was the dangerous presence of free blacks among a slave population; to Ohio, the dread of a negro population. So, between these upper and nether millstones, the colored race is to be ground to powder unless they go to Liberia, where sure death awaits a large proportion, as past Liberian experience shows!

The petition of Judge Bryan, of Alabama, and others, for a line of mail steamers to carry mails and emigrants to Liberia, and touch at various ports in Europe, and the report to Congress of Hon. F. P. STANTON, of Tennessee, from the committee to whom it was referred in July, 1850, were used as means of calling forth a multitude of expressions in favor of colonization, from the press and from prominent public men all over the country. The plan was for government to build three steamers, of four thousand tons burden, to cost about nine hundred thousand dollars each, and to be used by the nation in case of war; to receive forty thousand dollars a trip for carrying the mails to Liberia, Lisbon, London, &c., and to transport

some two thousand five hundred emigrants each voyage, for the Colonization Society, at a charge of ten dollars for adults, and five dollars for children, making twelve voyages a year. Two pamphlets were published in New York, and extensively circulated, advocating the scheme ; every colonization journal was constant in its praise, and every effort was made to make capital for the movement : the project failed ; the title of "Ebony Line Scheme" was given to it. (*Of course*, all the thirty thousand emigrants those steamers could transport would go *voluntarily*.) The Maryland constitutional convention, the Virginia legislature and convention, the Ohio convention, — two thirds of its members, — memorialized Congress in favor of the "Ebony Line."

At a later date, we have the last great move of the colonizationists, known as "Stanley's Bill," introduced in Congress June 4, 1852, by HON. EDWARD STANLEY, M. C., of North Carolina, for depositing the fourth instalment of the public money with the states, in the ratio of their population and representation, the interest to be appropriated to African colonization ; and when the work was done, — the free blacks all transported to Liberia or elsewhere, — the fund to be used for the education of the poor, or internal improvements.

The amount of the instalment was nine million three hundred and sixty-seven thousand two hundred and fourteen dollars and ninety-eight cents, and the yearly interest four hundred and sixty-eight thousand three hundred and sixty dollars and ninety-eight cents, sufficient to transport to Liberia, at a cost of fifty dollars each, nine thousand five hundred and sixty-six emigrants, who, *of course*, would at once *choose to go*. The passage of this bill was probably hardly expected at the time, but was warmly urged by the *Repository* and other colonization papers, the *Journal*, of

New York, being specially earnest in the work. But the scheme may be renewed, for fear and hatred know no rest, ever stung to activity, by "the worm that dieth not."

Other facts of a similar character might be given, but enough has been done to prove abundantly the real aim of this movement — the wholesale expatriation of the free colored population, and keeping the slaves in chains until they may be freed and expatriated, if their masters choose so to do. Where is the "exclusive object" of colonizing, "with their own consent," free people of color? Cast aside, trampled under foot, by slaveholders and their allies. Some colonizationists, doubtless, may abhor the sentiments and plans we have exhibited; but that avails little; the inexorable law of *rule or ruin* is above them, and the slaveholder or his ally controls the movement which they countenance and aid.

This chapter may appropriately close by a paragraph from an address of HON. R. W. THOMPSON, of Indiana, at the annual meeting of the society in 1849:—

"It *does not offer any oppression or injustice to the free*. It proposes to colonize, with their own consent, those who are free, and it appeals to the humane and philanthropic; it summons the highest motives of patriotism, and, in the name of all that is noble and great, it calls for aid to carry out its designs of mercy!"

SLAVERY A PROVIDENTIAL DISPENSATION !

EMINENT colonizationists, especially the religious advocates of the society, are much given to presenting slavery as a providential dispensation for the elevation of the enslaved and the regeneration of Africa — a most effectual mode of quieting the consciences of those who may be troubled by the presence of this overshadowing iniquity.

The voice of God speaking in every heart, the words of olden prophets, the beautiful precepts of Jesus, the instincts of our common humanity, all would lead us to recognize slavery as a crime, to demand that all men have restored to them the birthright of freedom of which they had been robbed.

But there are those who would seek to penetrate into the mysteries of Infinity, and talk with impious familiarity of the “designs of an all-wise Providence,” to divert us from plain duties that lie within our reach.

Let fetters be forged for us — let our wives and daughters, our mothers and sisters, be sold on the auction block to lives of toil and infamy — let the lash be plied over our bleeding persons — and then, should we see men standing with our oppressors, talking of the “sacred right” of property, and discoursing with solemn wisdom of providential designs for our elevation and the regeneration of some distant land whence our fathers came centuries ago, what would be our feelings? Should we not look upon those men as either basely wicked, or deluded themselves and deluding others — “blind leading the blind”?

Let us see some of these specimens of a self-complacent

but wicked and delusive philanthropy, so unlike that "robust and manly virtue" which John Milton extolled in his day, and which we so much need in ours.

"I am thoroughly convinced there is a better thing than the mere doing away of slavery. . . . The elevation of the colored race is that better work! . . . There seems to me, in connection with this subject, a beautiful illustration of what HALL calls 'a fetch in divine Providence.' God had a design in bringing these people to this country. . . . We cannot probably see the whole of it. . . . There are now in this country more than three hundred thousand Africans who can read and write, who could not have done it if it had not been for the slave trade! . . . How came these people by all this knowledge? . . . It has been done by *slavery*. . . . And now we send them back to Africa with a preparation for doing a great work there, which we *never* could have imparted to them in any other way. . . . In this view of the subject, we may perceive, at least, *one good* which slavery has done for Africa; and the question may with propriety be asked, whether it has not done for Africa *more good than harm*. It is not for me to say what *might* have been done for the welfare of Africa if the slave trade had not existed. . . . But we have nothing to do with the *ifs* and *ands* of the case; we have taken the *broad ground that slavery has done Africa and the African race a good, a great good*, and we believe that all must admit the facts!" (REV. JOEL PARKER, D. D., Annual Meeting Am. Col. Soc. 1847.)

. . . "It is true, in some sense, that every native-born colored man may claim this as his country. So might the Israelites, while in captivity in Egypt, have claimed that as their country. But still, in the contemplation of that all-wise Being who directed the progress of that remarkable people, Egypt was not their country.

It was Canaan, the land of promise ; and thither they were taken as to their home. Who can doubt that Africa is the real home of the black man, though, by a casual event, he may have had his birth on these shores? Here . . . he cannot live on equality with those about him ; and it does seem to me one of the disposals of an all-wise Providence to permit him to have been brought here, with an ultimate view to the further accomplishment by him of inscrutable but wise and merciful designs. The separation of the races is a measure recommended not only by the good of both, but by the prospect that Africa . . . may thus be brought to the light and blessings of Christianity." (Hon. Henry Clay, Annual Meeting, 1848.)

The colonizationists, probably, have had another MOSES to tell them where the Canaan of the colored race is, and how it is to be reached ; without some new revelation on the matter, surely they would not speak with such certainty.

"And now, looking upon this subject in a *religious light*, there are some things which our brethren of the north ought seriously to ponder. . . . The African here is a *superior animal* to the African on his native continent. . . . But it is the religious blessings the African has enjoyed in this country which are his greatest advantages. . . . In all our missionary churches, there are fifty-six thousand converts. In the Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian churches of the south, there are two hundred and fifty-six thousand professed African believers in Jesus. If these Africans had not come to this country, probably not one of them would have ever heard the gospel." (Rev. Dr. Fuller, Annual Meeting, 1851.)

"In the mean time, the black man had been trained in the habits of civilized life — been made acquainted with the Christian religion, and been gradually rising. . . . For many years previous, Christian men had been anx-

iously pondering the problem of the conversion of Africa to Christianity. . . . The experiment was tried for more than two hundred years, and the result was an absolute failure ; and the bones of a noble army of martyrs bleached on the burning sands of that benighted land. When the heart of Christendom had again sunk down into apathy, and black despair seemed to settle over the prospect in that direction, then it was that the happy thought occurred to many Christian minds who had been long pondering the problem presented by the presence of the free colored people in this country, and also the unhappy condition of Africa, of *taking* these very persons, *whose presence was not desired here*, . . . and *sending* them back to the land of their fathers, bearing with them the ark of God and all the institutions of a Christian civilization.

“Here is one of those remarkable instances in which divine Providence acts far out of the sight of man. In allowing these persons to be kept here for two hundred years in contact with the institutions of a Christian civilization, daily rising in the scale of intellectual and moral improvement, having become acquainted with the principles, and in many instances imbued with the spirit, of the religion of Jesus Christ, God, as it has been beautifully and eloquently said, had been long elaborating in the depths of his own unfathomable counsel, just as he elaborates the diamond in the mine, that gem of Christian civilization which now blazes on the sable brow of Africa.” (Rev. Philip Slaughter, of Va. Annual Meeting, 1852.)

“Degradation has made slaves, *not slavery degradation*. Reduce this assembly to slavery, you would not degrade a person present. Put slaves into good Christian families from a state of degradation, and you elevate them. For example : slaves in the older and more refined parts of Virginia are very polite, well-mannered, and talk good

cornfield grammar. . . . But I make no apology for slavery. We should bless God that he can make the wrath of man to praise him. But to come back to this degradation. Think of such as in their descent have been degraded as slaves, — for a thousand years it may be, — brought out of this degradation into nominally, really Christian families, under Christian masters. They are to be raised from degradation. They are your brethren and fellow-men. Though sunken in degradation, they are to be elevated to a high estate, to the very society of Christ and his saints in his kingdom that is to come. Now, the best we can do for the elevation of this race is, to *send them to Africa.*" (REV. JOEL PARKER, D. D., at Utica, N. Y.)

Strange talk this ; slavery has made no degradation ! These poor degraded beings are to be raised to the society of saints in heaven. We fear such as are so anxious to send the colored man to Liberia will be obliged to "conquer their prejudices" before such a heaven would be at all agreeable ; they would want to form a colonization society, and have some Liberia in the abodes of the blessed for the negro, that they might love him — at a distance.

"When he looked upon the colored man in this country, he said he felt ready to stretch out his hand to him with a degree of sympathy he felt for no other class. He regarded them as the civilized instruments for redeeming Africa from her bondage. . . . God in his wisdom had permitted a portion of this race to be taken away from their own shores, and planted in the lap of American civilization, and around the altars of American Christianity. Those here to-night are descendants of one of the worst races in the world, and when brought to this country were placed in a situation better adapted, perhaps, than any other to fit them for their work. . . . The Africans in this country are infinitely better off than any other portion of the African race, except the colonies the

Society has planted. God's design in introducing Africans into this country ; . . . the great object to be effected by it, is the civilization and salvation of that portion of the race placed there, (in Africa.) . . . America had done for the negroes what no other nation in the world has done ; and he believed God designed to make this country a school for the African race. In twenty-four states of the Union he had visited the negro population ; he had found no portion of them so happy, so industrious, so pious, as in the Southern States, and particularly in Mississippi and Alabama. He had often lifted his hands in gratitude to God to find that, of all the men who had devoted themselves to the welfare of the blacks, the best and most self-sacrificing had been among the masters of the south." (REV. J. M. PEASE, Col. Agent, at meeting in church of Rev. Dr. Spring, New York, on sailing of brig Zeno, for Liberia, with thirty-seven emigrants. N. Y. Col. Journal, September, 1851.)

A great mistake, it would seem, has ever been committed by our missionary societies ; they should revive the slave trade, bring a good number of Burmese, Hindoos, Sandwich Islanders, &c., to our country, plant them "around the altars of American Christianity," and, in due time, colonize their descendants, prepared for a great work of elevating and evangelizing their benighted countrymen.

At the entrance of the Gallinas River, on the African coast, some sixty miles north of Monrovia, a Spanish slave dealer, of great wealth and influence, for many years carried on his traffic. The name of PEDRO BLANCO was widely known, and it was no uncommon thing for ten thousand slaves to pass through his hands yearly. He was a finely-educated man, of gentlemanly manners, and in his style of living mingled the state of a Spanish Don and the grandeur of a native prince. Near the mouth of the river, on an island, was his place of business, where captains of slavers

and others visited him ; along the shores were lookouts, at intervals raised on trees one hundred feet high, or on poles, where men could sit, sheltered from the sun and rain, and sweep the horizon with their powerful spyglasses to know at a distance the character of approaching vessels, and convey tidings. On an island more retired was his harem of native women, and his home and retreats for lounging, smoking, &c. On another island was a house for his sister, who spent some time with him. On as many more islands were some ten or twelve barracoons, capable of holding from one hundred to one thousand slaves each, where the *chattels* were kept under the care of experienced and careful overseers ; great numbers of large canoes were moored at hand, ready to transport one thousand slaves on board a ship in four hours, in case of need. He was said to be as kind to his slaves as possible under circumstances. He justified himself in his business, by declaring "that the condition of the natives is greatly improved by removal to Christian countries ; and that he was effecting more good than all the missionaries in Africa, inasmuch as they convert comparatively few, while he yearly sends thousands where the influence of Christian institutions could mould their character and affect their hearts." ("New Republic," p. 192.) He would have been quite refreshed by listening to the discourses of some pious colonizationists on the providential aspects of slavery ; indeed, it would seem that he must have read some stray leaves of their productions.

"We entirely agree with Commodore Stockton, in his recent letter (to Daniel Webster) on the subject of slavery and colonization. . . . We think that slavery in America is but the *herald of civilization and liberty in Africa*. The first mention of the sale of a human being is that of Joseph to the Midianite merchantmen. He says himself of his slavery, (Gen. l. 20,) 'But God meant it unto good,

to save much people alive.' A great dispensation of Providence was wrought out of the bondage of Joseph. So, also, it seems to us, the slavery of the African in the United States is designed, by the inscrutable wisdom of Providence, for the future benefit of Africa." (N. Y. Globe; copied in pamphlet on Colonization and Mail Steamers.)

"It will then (when Liberia shall be great and prosperous) be seen, doubtless, that a wise Providence suffered this race to pass through a long season of oppression, in order that ultimately they might be elevated. *They were under a curse for sin.* The trial was a very sore one. But the seeds were sown in their hearts, as American bondmen, which, when transplanted, spring-up in great glory and fruitfulness." (Speech of HON. R. W. THOMPSON, Annual Meeting, 1849.)

Extenuating guilt by this *wretched cant* about the ways of Providence is basely wicked, deceptive, dangerous. Granting that, to our imperfect vision, good may follow from evil, shall that diminish our deep sense of the guilt of the wrong doer, or check for a moment our effort to destroy the wrong? Scarcely a deed of darkness can be found on the pages of history but that a providential view might be taken of its bearings, highly pleasing to the tyrant or the villain who committed it. At the south are children born of slave mothers, in whose veins, from the fathers' side, flows the best blood of the Old Dominion. They inherit too the talents of those fathers; but who dare point to their elevation in this respect, and speak of the passions which gave them birth, as dispensations of an all-wise Providence for the elevation of those in bonds, and thus extenuate the guilt of the slaveholder? Yet the abrogation of marriage, and the awful licentiousness consequent, is but a *part* of the slave system — the less included in the greater sin.

These few extracts must suffice; the same views and

expressions quoted often occur when colonizationists dwell upon the religious aspect of their cause. They must be peculiarly soothing to the slaveholder or his apologist: whoever would "remember those in bonds as bound with them," must be moved at their perusal by mingled feelings of pity and righteous indignation. But we are assured, (Thirty-sixth Annual Report,) "The aggregate of what the Colonization Society has done in all past time stamps upon it the character of the broadest benevolence, . . . capable of reversing the dark destinies of a continent, and stretching its results over all future time"!

SAVED THE UNION!

AMONG the priceless benefits the Colonization Society has conferred upon the country in its career of "noiseless beneficence," it may not be generally known that it has *helped to save the Union*; and its leading advocates have demonstrated that a successful prosecution of its great objects would make our country safe beyond a peradventure.

We record some of the facts bearing on this point, that full justice be done to the Society in this important particular.

It is well known—for politicians and statesmen of great experience and ability, and the most self-sacrificing patriotism, have informed us of the fact—that the Union, in imminent danger from "sectional difficulties" and "higher law doctrines," was barely saved by the passage of the Compromise Acts of 1850, and especially of that important enactment, the Fugitive Slave Law. Upon the perpetuity of that law, and the fidelity with which it is obeyed, it is said the very existence of the Union depends; and it is well known, that for the past three years, whenever a certain class of politicians and clergymen talk of obedience to the laws and the preservation of the Union, the terms are synonymous with maintaining the compromises of 1850, and standing ready to catch fugitive slaves, in obedience to the law for such cases "made and provided." The meaning of these synonymes will be duly borne in mind as we place on record a few extracts from addresses of leading colonizationists, chosen spokesmen at the meetings of this Society.

At the annual meeting in Washington, in the hall of

the House of Representatives, in January, 1849, eminent men, foreseeing the awful danger, raised a voice of faithful warning.

"How shall we get clear of the influences which almost daily agitate *this hall*, and cause excitement and agitation which almost threaten the dissolution of this glorious Union? This Union—I speak, I am sure, the sentiments of every heart here—this Union must not be dissolved. . . . Is there no common ground on which we can meet and harmoniously stand? There is! This Society is that blessed spot. . . . I see enrolled in its past and present advocacy a long list of worthies from the north, the south, the east, the west. . . . And here with safety and success may meet and mingle all religious denominations, all patriots and philanthropists, all judges and legislators, and pour in this wide channel the swelling stream of their patriotism and benevolence! Is not this common ground? On it let us gather; and the world shall acknowledge the deed!" (Address of HON. R. W. THOMPSON, of Ind.)

On the same occasion, HON. R. J. WALKER, of Miss., Secretary of the Treasury, introduced a resolve commending the Society, among other reasons, *especially* as furnishing ground on which all could unite, "and at the same time accomplish the glorious purpose of preserving the harmony and perpetuating the Union of the States."

The Hon. R. M. McLANE, of Maryland, also said, "Every man *of whatever color* owes this Union a responsibility great beyond whatever he has conceived of! By upholding and aiding the Society in its great and benevolent work, he may exert an influence for the perpetuity of the Union *not possible in any other way.*"

The work of the Society is to send the free negroes to Africa, and we can see no so effectual way in which the colored man can serve it as to *go there forthwith*, and thus

discharge his great responsibility. It is evident at once that, if aid to colonization assists more than is "possible in any other way" to the perpetuity of the Union, the presence of the free colored people endangers it. They should feel this, go to Liberia *en masse*, and when there, repeat proudly to each other those lines the famed comedian Garrick proposed as the commencement of an address for the opening of a theatre at Botany Bay : —

" True patriots we ; for, be it understood,
We left our country for our country's good."

The Society's Annual Report of January, 1851, comprising that year in which the Union was saved in so remarkable a manner, says, "The permanency and glory of our Union, intimately blended with the success of our cause, appeals to our statesmen . . . to advocate every measure calculated to secure so desirable a result."

REV. DR. FULLER, in his address at the same time, said, "People may differ about the language of the Bible as to slavery, but no one can doubt the language of the Bible as to obedience to the laws."

He proposed that Congress *should purchase the slaves, and transport them to Africa*, and continues : —

"Sir, such a scheme and our country is safe. Not "*esto perpetua*," it *may be* perpetual ; but "*erit perpetua*," it *shall be* perpetual, would be written upon that column which is rearing itself on yonder common.* (Applause.) But if something effectual be not done, vainly do we cry peace, peace, when there is no peace . . . in daily contact with northern and southern feeling. I utter my most solemn conviction to-night—may God avert the prophecy—that the elements of mischief, the *ignes suppositi*, the concealed fires of a volcano, are gathering under our feet. If

* The Washington Monument.

something cannot be done, nothing will save this country from the agitation of this slavery question and from evil conflict. Your venerable head, Mr. President, (H. Clay,) — for your days, I fear, are almost numbered, and the place which you fill you will soon see no more ; may God prepare for you a better place in heaven, — your venerable head will be resting in the tomb, and the shouts and discord of a fratricidal war will not disturb your sleep. But some of us may be young enough to see that dismal day. Unless something be done, I utter my solemn conviction, when I say that yonder column will rear itself to the skies only to have written upon it the epitaph of this Union ; or rather it had better be not completed at all ; it had better be left like those unfinished pillars we see in our churchyards, which tell of a life broken off suddenly in its midst ; its hopes, its promises, its pride, its prospects all blasted at a single stroke.”

Dr. Fuller is a large slaveholder, and, strange as it may seem after this burst of mournful eloquence, we cannot learn that he has as yet either sent his slaves to Africa, or offered them to the Colonization Society for *voluntary* transportation ! Surely he should do what is in his power to remove some small portion of this element of danger, that others might do likewise.

At the same time, HON. F. P. STANTON, of Tenn., advocated the removal of the free blacks, not only because they aided slaves to escape, but because they herded together to “rescue the fugitive slave by open violence, trampling alike upon the rights of the owner and the laws and constitution of the land.” His remarks are quoted in another chapter, and it is needless to repeat them.

At the annual meeting in 1852, REV. PHILIP SLAUGHTER, of Va., said : —

“Need I suggest what is the cause which has come more nearly than any other to overwhelm this proud fabric of

free government, to which tens of thousands of refugees from the worn-out governments of Europe are flocking every day as doves to their windows? It is this very question of the black race. . . . Is it not clear that, if this Society proceeds, . . . it will abstract . . . some of the causes of this political agitation, in entire harmony with the rights of individuals, of property, of the states, and all our obligations to the Union and to God? . . . Is there an American citizen who will not do all that in him lies, in the providence of God, to hand down to his posterity this noble structure, under whose shadow such multitudes of the oppressed *from every nation in the earth* are now taking shelter?"

How coolly Mr. Slaughter talks of the rights of individuals, and of the "oppressed from every land," while seeking to drive the colored man to Africa!

About the commencement of 1851, the Presbyterian Synod of Pittsburg, Pa., (O. S.) in reply to a memorial on the subject, passed resolves concerning the Fugitive Slave Law, declaring it "inexpedient" to give any opinion, and "leaving every man to act in his capacity as a citizen, in conformity with his obligations as a citizen and Christian," and *earnestly recommending* their churches and people to pray for their rulers and those in authority. The editor of the *N. Y. Colonization Journal* "rejoices at the calmness and patriotism of the action taken," and says, "We were prepared to expect patriotism and conservatism in opposition to the *wild excesses of churches* and individuals of another sort."

In the same number (Feb., 1851) we find a notice of a Union meeting held in New Haven, at which REV. DR. TAYLOR, of Yale College, spoke as follows:—

"Have I not shown you that it is lawful to deliver up, in compliance with their laws, fugitive slaves, for the great, the high, the momentous interests of these states?"

And if it was lawful to do it, is it not in accordance with the constitution to make a law providing for that result? Is there any law of God against this? . . . *I do not so understand it.*" This the editor calls "sound doctrine," and says the address "cannot fail to be productive of good."

At the annual meeting of the N. Y. Colonization Society, in May, 1851, Rev. Dr. Tyng said, —

"In this Society there are no disorganizers to shatter the fair vessel of public order, and dash to pieces the crystal vase of domestic peace. . . . His father taught him a higher law; but there was nothing more explicitly enjoined by that higher law than submission to the laws of our country. . . . He regarded the Fugitive Slave Law "as indispensable to the existence of slavery. He hated the law, yet was bound to obey it, and to inculcate obedience to it, while on the statute book, as a law binding on the individual conscience and the nation."

At the opening of the meeting of the same Society, in May, 1852, Rev. Gardner Spring, D. D., vice president, praised it as consulting "the peace and harmony of those dissensions and agitations which have taken place in our land."

Thus we see, in part, how the Union has been saved by colonization influences—how those who *lead* in the Society have given aid in this patriotic work—*by words*.

PLANS CRUEL AND IMPRACTICABLE. — INFLUENCE ON FREE PEOPLE OF COLOR EVIL; ON VIEWS OF DUTY DECEPTIVE.

CAN it be expected, is it in the nature of things *possible*, that the Colonization Society will carry on useful and honorable plans, or exert any but a *deceptive and evil influence*, in regard to the great questions which come within the sphere of its influence?

Such is its compromising spirit, such its past course, so complete its alliance with a blinding and perverting prejudice, so intimate its fellowship with those who are daily upholding a system full of treachery and deceit as well as cruelty, and so readily has it ever yielded to their rule, that we are prepared to find its plans dishonest and cruel as well as impracticable, its influence on the free colored people such, that it has been, is, and will be, an insidious and deadly foe to their prosperity and elevation, its effects upon slavery, and the popular estimate thereof, evil and deceptive. It would be *surprising to find it otherwise*. It would be like looking for the evil tree to bear good fruit.

Let us look more at length at its scheme for colonizing the people of color, its influence on the free colored people in our country, and its influence on the popular idea of slavery, slaveholding, and our duty and relation thereto. Our view shall be mainly as this country is concerned; though what will deceive and injure one country will do little to bless another. In the next chapter we will look toward Liberia and Africa.

The colonization plan is to transport — *professedly* with

their own consent, *really* with or against it, as the case may be — the free colored people of this country to Liberia. Its constitution says, “Its attention is to be *exclusively* directed to promote and execute a plan for colonizing (with their consent) the free people of color residing in our country in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient.”

Congress has had little to do in the matter as yet, and Liberia is now the place proposed as the future home of the colored American ; a pleasant country, it is said, at a “safe distance” from us. The south, as we have seen, are enlisted by appealing to their fears from the presence of these “incentives to discontent” among their slaves ; the north by strange pictures of danger, growing out of the existence of these “miserable beings” there ; the west by warnings lest they be overrun by a hated and vicious people, driven from other sections of the country, and seeking a last shelter in their beautiful valley. Strange motives these ! Not the highest or noblest ; *but they answer well, and are therefore used.* But to the benevolent, smooth words are uttered of the colored man’s capacity to rise *in Africa* ; and they are told mournfully of the sad fact, that here he can be only an outcast, toward whom even “religion itself” must be an Ishmael, raising its holy hand against him ; and that kindness dictates he should be assisted to a better country. This language answers well ; *therefore it is used.* Gifted imaginations call splendid visions into existence to entertain such easy philanthropists. The Thirty-fourth Annual Report says, —

“He (the colored man) is awake. He has found the place of his rest, the spot where he can erect an altar to his God unmolested and unafraid. An unseen hand is felt strongly leading him hither. Thousands have made it their home already. Larger thousands will soon follow. It is the land of the sun, the region of tropical bloom and

beauty, of fragrant flowers and delicious fruits. All that is beautiful in nature, as well as all that is noble and sublime in their moral elevation, invites them thither. . . . If they wish to elevate themselves individually, or to elevate their race with a power and grandeur unsurpassed, Liberia is the place for them. . . . Clouds and darkness may now be around their views; but the time is coming when their hearts shall be energized, and brought, as it were, in contact with the great heart of Liberia, and feel its quick and life-giving pulsations. Then will they up and hie themselves away."

Of course, this transportation scheme is deemed practicable, although the time set for its accomplishment varies very widely. When slaveholders are addressed, "a century is nothing," if the distant work of sending the slave away be talked of; then we hear from some other quarter of a "rapid work." The Thirty-second Report speaks as follows, in confident terms: "In what bold relief now stand out the practical wisdom of our enterprise, the far-reaching sagacity and benevolence of its founders! Now it is that hostility to African colonization is seen to be hostility to the colored race."

There are over six hundred thousand free colored persons now in this country; their annual increase at only two per cent. is over twelve thousand. At forty dollars each for transportation and needed aid, it would cost four hundred and eighty thousand yearly, not to abate the "nuisance," but simply to check it. But suppose the work to be prosecuted more vigorously, and six immense steamers, of four thousand tons burden each, be built, costing in all five million four hundred thousand dollars, (estimate for "Ebony Line,") and making in all twenty-four trips yearly, with two thousand passengers each; and in fifteen years, at an estimate of only thirty dollars each, the work would be done, at an expense of over twenty-two million dollars,

and we should be the laughing stock of the world for urging multitudes to come hither from abroad, and at great cost carrying other multitudes away. All this, supposing the colored people went freely ; if they were driven away, a world's indignant rebuke would burst upon us. Paying rather dear for our " prejudices," this ; better " conquer " them, and save the money and the ridicule or rebuke. But colonizationists say they are very ignorant, very idle, very incompetent to act for themselves, and they will not aid to educate or elevate them here ; nay, constantly say they cannot be elevated ; although they will at once turn about and talk piously of the providence of God raising this race from degradation by bringing them among us. If so, herd such a people together in a land of heathen barbarians, and what will be the result ? One would suppose they would deteriorate in deeper degradation, of course. But there is a magic in Liberian air, that at once develops and enlarges all noble qualities — works a wondrous change. The beings so depraved here become intelligent, sagacious, pure, noble ; so we are led to suppose by colonizationists. Let those believe who will. The immense transported population would need not only shelter, but schools, colleges, churches, &c. Who shall build the ten thousand dwellings needed every year for these fifteen years ? White men cannot, for we are told they die in that climate. The colored population there is not adequate to the work. The schools and colleges — who shall be teachers therein for the multitudes of pupils yearly flocking to their doors ? White men would die ; colored men are to be kept ignorant in this country. There are not teachers enough for the work there ; of course, the people could not be taught. Sickness would come ; the great majority must go through the acclimating fever : suppose, for these fifteen years, twenty thousand yearly are subject to it. White physicians would see the

wing of the Death-angel in every mist that crept up from the water's edge at evening twilight ; there are no colored physicians in numbers sufficient. Shall there be none skilled to allay the burning rage of this disease, to stand by the bedside of these sable sufferers, and put the cooling draught to their lips ?

The white man dies in that climate so pestilential to him—but the negro thrives, so we are told. Now, it happens that the majority of our free colored population are of mixed blood, many nearer white than black ; some “colored,” it is true, but their color more the mingling hues of the lily and the rose than that of the majority of Anglo-Americans. If that climate be so deadly to the white man, place in Liberia, in each of fifteen successive seasons, nearly fifty thousand who never before breathed the air of the tropics,—half or more of whom are partially of Anglo-American or other European descent, many of whom have far more of white than colored blood in their veins,—and how fever, pestilence, and death must rage and revel among these new victims ! Granting it practicable to send yearly a few hundred or a thousand or two to Liberia, and furnish the means of shelter, of education, of medical care, and the comforts which mere ordinary humanity demands ; it becomes impracticable and cruel to send the multitudes there which must go to carry out even the scheme of transportation of the present free colored population.

The president of the Society, J. H. B. Latrobe, Esq., has illustrated these views ably in referring to the past ; his illustrations will apply still more forcibly to the present and future. In an address before the New York Colonization Society, in May, 1852, he says, that, although not of course by any good intent on the part of the abolitionists, yet, in reality, Colonization is indebted to Abolition in different and important particulars : one of these has to do

with our subject. After stating that some twenty years since there were a great many applicants for passage to Liberia, and the colony was standing fairly with the colored people, (not true, by the way; they never, with few exceptions, cared for, or confided in it,) he proceeds, —

“This was a critical time for Colonization. Had the supply of emigrants continued, they would have been shipped, and great mischief would have been done. The colonies were not yet ready for the numbers that would have gone forward. . . . They had not yet served a long enough apprenticeship to qualify their people to act as their own rulers. . . . They were, in fact, in the transition state. To have crowded them at that time with such emigrants as would have been procured — comparatively ignorant and inexperienced — might have postponed for a long time their independence, if not perilled the whole scheme. And yet the impatience of Colonization would have permitted the crowd to sail. But, thanks to Abolition, the supply of emigrants was suddenly cut off, and the gristle of the colonies had time given it to harden into the bones and sinews of manhood. The agents of Abolition filled the mind of the ignorant of the colored people, and they were the mass, with a dread of Africa. . . . This is the first of our obligations to Abolition.”

Now, if we should crowd fifteen, thirty, or fifty thousand persons — inexperienced, many of them ignorant — into Liberia, yearly, “the bone and sinew of manhood” might vanish; want of education, lack of shelter, disease, and other depressing influences would tend to create not only suffering but depravity, and the little band of colonists now there would be powerless amidst such numbers and against such embarrassments.

But another question arises, Would the colored people consent to go? The *New York Colonization Journal* of February, 1852, says, “They have, for many years past.

almost unanimously refused to emigrate" in that state; in other sections a similar feeling exists: from its commencement the great mass of colored people have seen the real spirit of this movement, and looked upon it with disgust. What, then, is to be done? Their consent may be extorted by long years of abuse, such as we have seen the society aid in preparing for them. Of this course and its consequences we can best gain some little idea by quoting the language of Mr. BRODNAX in the Virginia House of Delegates, in 1832, in a debate on compelling the colored people to emigrate. He was in favor of a compulsory law and to those opposed to it, but willing to so oppress the colored man as to compel his consent without any express provision to that effect, he said,—

"But *what sort of a consent?* — a consent extorted by a species of oppression calculated to make their situation here insupportable! Many of those already sent went with their avowed consent, but under the influence of a more decided compulsion than any this bill holds out. I will not express in its fullest extent the idea I entertain of what has been done, or what *enormities will be perpetrated to induce* this class of persons to leave the state."

These, or kindred "enormities," must extend over the whole land — persecution, abuse, barbarity, at which the mind revolts, to "induce" the consent of these people to go to Liberia. Good colonizationists, who will begin in this noble work? You must spurn the negro like a dog, as the bigot of old did the Jew; spit upon him as the Turk did upon the Christian; join the vilest negro haters, the very Legrees of the south, and let your works be like theirs, but far more abundant.

But you may say, We do not wish to *expel* the negro. If so, repudiate at once and forever the American Colonization Society; *for it does*, as we have shown, and has long ago trampled its constitution under foot to accomplish its

wicked purpose: repudiate its auxiliaries, for they are only members of the same corrupt body; and although the use of some may be less vile than of others, they all minister to its growth and power.

But at last, if all other resorts fail, it must come to open force, the chain gang, and the lash — emigrants must be driven aboard ship at the bayonet's point. At the south, where, as we know, they at times resort to some little severities, (made necessary, of course, by their *peculiar* situation,) it would appear that coercion has been used as a persuasive argument toward "voluntary" emigration. How often this has been done we know not, — for southern colonizationists are not especially communicative on this point, — but two instances have come to our knowledge. Mr. Brodnax, in the address just quoted from, speaks of free negroes being visited at night, "dragged from bed and family," and "the gentle admonition of a severe flagellation to induce them to go away" being given, and the operation repeated until the desired effect was produced; says, "that all the large cargo of emigrants recently transported from Southampton county to Liberia, all of whom professed to be willing to go, were rendered so by some such ministrations."

The *Boston Commonwealth* of July 17th, 1851, after mentioning that the Rev. J. M. Pease, a colonization agent, was at the *Revere House* in that city, says, "We are told that upwards of one hundred colored people left Savannah, Ga., a few weeks since, in the bark *Baltimore*, under charge of the American Colonization Society, and that some sixty, who had arrived in town the day previous from up country, were marched in pairs from the jail (the same in which the fugitive slave Thomas Sims was confined when taken back from Boston to the south) to the ship."

The south are ever in the advance; but as colonization

flourishes, shall we see the Boston court house again in chains, and good New England colonizationists guarding its doors, and marching at midnight down to the wharf with fixed bayonets and closed files around a gang of emigrants about to embark for Liberia? The Union servers of New York may scour the country round about, and drive in a herd, fresh caught among the hills, to fill out the cargo; the democracy of the west may forward to the seaboard, in charge of trusty armed guards, coffles of colored people, all rejoicing in being bound for that happy land, far away, whither they go so freely and cheerily!

Is it not evident that this project of transporting even the free colored people is impracticable, without the most revolting cruelty and the most fatal and disastrous results? The flimsy pretence of "voluntary consent" is well exposed as false by the simple fact, that of the eight thousand five hundred persons sent to Liberia by the society, up to the present year, four thousand and ninety-three are slaves "emancipated in view of emigrating," and of course *their consent was never asked*; it was only slavery or expatriation; and one thousand and forty-four were Africans, recaptured from slave ships by government cruisers. So that only the minority of three thousand three hundred and sixty-five ever had any kind of free choice; and when we remember that nearly half of that number were from Virginia, and call to mind Mr. Brodnax's description of the kind of consent given there, we may judge of the boldness of assertion which leads colonizationists to talk of wanting only free voluntary consent.

But the Colonization Society claims to be a remedy for slavery by sending to Liberia the slaves when emancipated for that purpose. This is still more preposterous; keep twelve steamers, making their forty-eight trips yearly, and

each transporting their two thousand emigrants, and, at an annual cost of three millions of dollars, we should hardly more than stop the increase. Keep a fleet of thirty-six steamers, costing thirty-two millions four hundred thousand dollars, constantly ploughing the ocean from our shores to Liberia, and at an annual outlay of nine millions of dollars, in some twenty years, at the cost of two hundred millions of dollars, most of the millions now in bondage might be left on the coast of that distant continent in a state of destitution of the means of education, of livelihood, of medical attendance, and of all the common comforts of life terrible to think of. When we remember, too, that, by the operation of the wholesale and unbridled licentiousness inherent in this horrible slave system, a million, at a low estimate, of the slaves have a mingling of white blood in their veins, and a large number approach nearly to our own race in color ; if we but reflect on the deadly influence of that climate on that large portion of these unhappy people, the mind turns with horror from the thought of myriads smitten by disease, and their unburied bodies filling the air with the pestilence which shall lay other myriads beside them. Never was such a scheme of barbarity proposed by man ; nothing but the influence of slavery and prejudice could, for a moment, lead even pirates and assassins, much less men of Christian professions and decent reputation, to look upon it with favor.

Colonizationists, indeed, are beginning to acknowledge its incompetency, but — resolved still to accomplish their evil object in some way, and to delude the people longer, if possible — are SHAPING NEW DEVICES TO THAT END. Let us see them, and be warned in season.

At the annual meeting in Washington, in 1851, J. H. B. LATROBE, addressing the leaders in this movement and a large audience, said, —

“ Colonization is as utterly incompetent to transport the whole colored population of the United States to Africa, as it would be impossible to ladle out one of our northern lakes with a kitchen utensil. All that Congress can give will be insufficient for the purpose ; all that the states can give will be insufficient ; all that individuals can give will be insufficient. . . . To what, then, is colonization competent ? It is competent to the building up of colonies on the coast of Africa, offering the same attraction to the colored man in this country that this country offers to the European ; . . . when that shall be the result of our labors, we shall see an emigration from America to Africa like that we now see from Europe to America. (Applause.) That will be the result of colonization, its fruition. It has done wonders already. . . . The entire annual increase of the colored population is less than fifty-five thousand. What is the immigration from Europe ? There will cross the Atlantic this year a half million. What brings them to our shores ? Colonization societies or means from their home governments ? Not at all. They come to better their condition. . . . They come from a class *inferior in point of means, inferior in point of opportunities, to the class which is to leave our shores*. Where the white man has *one* motive to lead him to leave Europe to come to this country, the black man has *ten motives* to leave this country. Is this lesson now making itself felt by this race ? Ay, truly it is. . . . What becomes of the black man ? He is being driven gradually to the wall, and this pressure is increasing ; and if it had not been for colonization, which provided for some of them a home in Africa, which now invites them, the alternative would soon be presented to us of *extirpation or emigration*.”

This view is taken by some other colonizationists of note ; and it will be remembered how Mr. Latrobe, in other speeches we have quoted, speaks of the black man being

obliged to flee "as from the wrath to come," as the foreigner presses upon him along with the native American ; how Mr. Christy, in appealing to the legislators and people of Ohio, talks in a similar strain, to create a hatred of the colored man in the foreigners who come to our shores untainted by our American prejudice. This argument of Mr. Latrobe's, this new device to deceive and mislead and keep up the colonization scheme, to what does it amount? Simply to this ; we cannot transport this hated race, but let us go on and build up our Liberian colony, and add others to it, if possible ; continue to make it appear that real kindness to the colored man would lead us to urge him thither ; keep up as heretofore our religious and philanthropic aspect ; get up some commercial intercourse with the African coast to make the voyage familiar ; invite the foreign emigrant to our shores ; outrage and oppress the colored man, and he will be compelled in due time to flee from our oppression, as these foreigners are fleeing from the oppression of the old world.

Mr. Latrobe, doubtless, would talk indignantly in regard to the wrongs of Ireland, and tell the liberty-loving German that we had no petty princes here, swarming like locusts all over the land to devour the best of every good thing. Yet he says, where these men have *one* motive to leave Europe, the colored man has *ten* to leave America. Our oppression toward the colored man, then, is *ten times worse* than that of Europe's kings and aristocracies toward her poor. Verily are we a nation of tyrants by this colonization argument. But still we are not cruel and oppressive enough yet to answer the purpose ; the colored man *must* leave the country, that is settled ; he is not ready to go yet ; he stays, he thrives, he increases, even beneath all the abuse heaped upon him. The colonies must be kept up in Africa as centres of attraction and means of deception, and he must be *still worse oppressed*. We must be so.

much more cruel than heretofore as to be like the Israelitish king, of whom it was said, "his little finger was thicker than his father's loins;" then, if we steel our hearts and keep strong in the evil purpose, we shall at last accomplish it, and stand before the world unparalleled in iron-hearted cruelty.

This is, perhaps, the latest aspect of the "benevolent scheme of colonization!" Who can doubt that it "contemplates a recompense of justice and humanity to Africa and her injured children?" (N. Y. Ann. Rep. 1849.)

The slaveholding leaders of the society have been careful to hold their own chattels secure. Its first president, as we have seen, sold more than fifty slaves to go to the rice swamps and sugar fields of the far south. Its second president, MR. CARROLL, held through life, and left at his death, *one thousand slaves*. MR. MADISON, another president, said, —

"Many circumstances at the present moment seem to concur in brightening the prospects of the society, and cherishing the hope that the time will come when the *dreadful calamity*, which has so long afflicted our country, and filled so many with despair, will be gradually removed, by means consistent with justice, peace, and general satisfaction; thus giving to our country the full enjoyment of the blessings of liberty, and to the world the full benefit of a *great example*." (Letter to Mr. Gurley. Af. Rep. xii. 89.)

The "example" Mr. Madison gave was that of *sending no slaves to Liberia, and leaving a hundred to his heirs*.

Mr. Clay, at an early date, declared it would be doing slaves an injury to free them with liberty to remain here; in a late speech, was willing to leave slavery to be abolished by "natural causes" in a century or more, and thought this preferable even to laws for gradual emancipation; at his death left his slaves to be separated, a part

placed in each of two states, and kept in bondage *twenty-five years*, and at the expiration of that time those still living to go to Liberia. And how are the feelings of the slave owners to be changed? Colonizationists leave "hearts and prejudices as they are;" make no effort to rouse the slave owner to a sense of the guilt and blighting influences of the system; only talk now and then in a strain of mournful sentimentality about it, and then turn to apologize, and tell of his "sacred right" of property in man!

Let colonization have its perfect work, and distant indeed will be the day of the slave's deliverance. During the thirty-six years of the society's existence, only four thousand and ninety-three slaves emancipated to go to Liberia; not a month's increase of the millions in bondage!

Suppose all the free colored people gone, — slaves, of course, more secure and valuable as we are told, — suppose a few slaves taken up here and there and sent to Liberia, — the right of property still "inviolable," no "hearts and prejudices" changed. What is the result? Slaves grow more valuable, more in demand; more labor, less human machines to perform it. Thus the scheme defeats itself.

Colonization advocates talk much of the good of Africa, the abolition of the slave trade; this answers well to keep up the benevolent appearance so needed for success, but is *no part* of the *professed original object* of the society; and this talk about blessing Africa and abolishing the foreign slave trade, from those who are holding slaves and keeping up the *domestic* slave trade, is simply absurd, as well as deceptive; yet many a northern man makes himself a mere echo for their words, and behold, colonization is to regenerate a continent and end the horrors of the "middle passage"!

But it needs not to bring more evidence ; facts and arguments will crowd into the mind of every thoughtful reader, proving more clearly still the utter impracticability, the cold and heartless wickedness of the whole plan.

It needs but few words to show what the influence of this society has done for the colored man. Our position toward him as a nation has ever been that of the oppressor ; two centuries ago the cupidity of slave traders opened a vile traffic ; love of gain, of ease, of power, fostered the trade and perpetuated the system ; we all know the result—millions are now in bondage—a free colored population of over half a million has grown up among us—bond and free alike are subjects of a deep and almost universal prejudice, a part of our education and every-day habits. It need only be asserted that this is the result of slavery, for *it exists only where slavery is*. Go to England, it is not there, in France you find it not, all over Europe it is unknown. This dislike of those enslaved or identified with the enslaved has always existed to a greater or less degree ; the Spartan spurned the Helot, the Norman hated the Saxon. The instincts of slavery lead to it, for it ever helps to brutalize those in bondage. In our country, doubtless, the mark of a peculiar color may strengthen this feeling by making readily known its objects ; but still *it is far less malignant in other countries where colored men are in bondage*. In Brazil there are two millions of slaves, descendants of Africans, and of mingled blood like those in the south, many of them indeed native Africans brought yearly from the slave coasts. Prejudice there is far less severe than here. In the West India islands it was less severe, prior to emancipation in some of them ; is now in others where emancipation has not taken place. Why is this ? We may talk of differences of position, the severity of our slavery, national characteristics on the part of masters, and give these things their due

estimate ; but *there is another reason* — THERE ARE NO COLONIZATION SOCIETIES IN THOSE COUNTRIES.

In the United States, this society has taken unwearied pains to spread the idea that the colored man has no right here ; that this is “the white man’s country.” It has addressed itself to the religious, and talked of the design of a wise Providence in allowing the African to remain here for a season, that he may be carried back to his native land. To be sure, this is all absurd and preposterous — the Indian might say that we had no right in the red man’s country, and demand that we leave the land wrested by force and fraud from his fathers ; but still it has its effect, because it reaches a weak point, which prejudice has made vulnerable to such sophistry. Colonizationists have labored long and faithfully to show that the best good of both races demands the expulsion of the colored man ; “voluntary emigration,” they call it, a softer name. What is the result ? Our social life is, with few exceptions, rigidly proscriptive ; no thought of encouraging or elevating these outcasts from its enlivening influences, by asking them to share therein. Only ridicule and hatred in many instances ; and if even those more richly gifted with kindly feeling know colored people who are pure in life and agreeable in manner, the remark is made, “How much good they could do in Liberia !” and they are left by themselves, the mark for the baser sort to sneer at — *only colonized out of social life*, caged up in the *Liberia* of their own narrow circles or their own homes, whose threshold the white man will rarely stoop to cross.

We boast of our schools and colleges ; it is the pride of our country that the people can gain a high culture ; universal intelligence is deemed the great safeguard of the nation. None can find fault with this, and were that culture higher and nobler still, were those precious privileges impartially given, far greater would be that security. Are

schools to be established in our cities or towns ; there must be a separate school for colored children, of course. The race are mere sojourners here providentially, and the best good of all demands these distinctions. So an *educational Liberia* is provided, and the little emigrants wend their weary way thither, day by day, over miles of brick sidewalks, through crowded streets, where white-faced juvenile vagabonds are privileged to make them the marks of their vile abuse.

Does the colored man deem it a sacred privilege to meet in some church consecrated for religious worship ; a "colored church" must be built. Rich and complacent white men will dole out some small aid from their abundance, some popular clergyman will go inside its walls for once to preach a dedication sermon, and, as he turns away to enter his own pulpit, feel a relief that those mute ebony figures, that have so long sat before him, week by week, in the negro pew, are gone — possibly think it all in accordance with God's providence that these children of Ham should be a people by themselves. Here we have a *religious Liberia*, and weekly crowds emigrate thereto — *voluntarily, of course*, they have no desire whatever — how could they have ? — to be seated as equals, as fellow-Christians, in that splendid church, to hear the rich tones of that organ rolling grandly up to its lofty roof, or stealing sweetly to the listening ear. What should they care to have that clergyman utter his eloquent appeals to them, as fellow-laborers in the Lord's vineyard ? What satisfaction could it possibly be, should he tell them that, in the eye of the Omniscient, all distinctions of race are insignificant, that all walls of separation man had built up against his brother must be broken down ?

Let a colored man step on board a steamboat, and quietly take his seat in the cabin, and he is soon ordered on deck, and must be content, in that floating palace, to keep

within the bounds of his *forward-deck Liberia*. All this, and much more that need not be told, has colonization done for the colored man in our country; making itself literally a *cleaving curse*, following him wherever he goes, and seeking to crush him to the earth, or expel him from the land. It may be said that multitudes never heard a colonization address, or read a colonization journal; this is true, but these false ideas have gone far and wide, have been sent abroad by the press, and spread as swiftly as the thousand tongues of Rumor could bear the evil tidings, through social circles, all over this broad land.

The influence of this nefarious colonization scheme has been a potent one in making the prejudice against the colored man in this country the most bitter and oppressive that exists in the world. But it may be said that there are schools, colleges, churches, social circles, open to the colored man—this we admit, and of course only speak in general terms. What we say is true in the great majority of cases, and the exceptions only prove the rule. These exceptions are slowly growing more numerous, but no thanks to the malign influence of colonization for that. As these increase, *it* must decrease; and when the false ideas it has so assiduously planted in the popular mind are eradicated, the society will die, and the colored man

“ Shall feel the hope within his bosom dying
Revive again.”

The society apologizes for the slaveholder, charges him with no heavy guilt, holds up its delusive and cruel schemes as the only remedy for slavery, *does great harm by spreading the idea that it would be ruinous and dangerous to give freedom to the slave with liberty to remain in the country.*

These are all “refuges of lies,” its influence on our idea of slavery and of our duty and relation thereto deceptive so long as it upholds them.

LIBERIA. — THE SLAVE TRADE. — IMPRACTICABLE REMEDY. — "THE MISSIONARY COLONY." — INFLUENCE ON NATIVES. — EDUCATION, &c.

THE Colonization Society claims to hold out a remedy for the slave trade on the coast of Africa. This was no part of its original constitutional object, but answers well the purpose of obtaining aid from the kindly disposed, as well as from those engaged in the domestic traffic, who are ever ready to

"Compound for sins they are inclined to,
By damning those they have no mind to."

The Rev. David Christy, in his colonization address in Ohio, already referred to, says, "*The planting and building up of Christian colonies on the African coast is the only practical remedy for the slave trade.*" The same idea is often advanced, and coupled with it plans for opening a peaceful commerce with Africa, as a substitute for the revolting trade in human beings. Let us look at this project of the society ; see how far its statements can be relied on as to what Liberia has done to suppress the slave trade ; and what its effect must be on African commerce.

All the experience of the past shows the idea of stopping the slave trade by efforts on the coast of Africa futile, *so long as the demand exists for slaves* ; stop the demand, and the trade will cease ; let the demand exist, *and the trade will go on*, its enormous profits enabling slavers to coin money, even if half their ships are lost. Liberia, it is

claimed, has banished the traffic from five hundred miles of coast ; Sierra Leone from about an equal extent. England has expended on her squadron and colony over one hundred millions of dollars ; other nations have lent their aid, and the *slave trade has constantly increased*.

In 1840, by the statistics of Mr. Buxton and parliamentary documents, sixty-four thousand one hundred and fourteen slaves were sent from Africa to America ; in 1841, some forty-three thousand ; in 1846, we find seventy-six thousand one hundred and seventeen ; in 1847, eighty-four thousand three hundred and fifty-six ; and, in the latter year, the British and Foreign Antislavery Society declared the traffic was more systematically pursued than for many years, and its horrors and loss of life increased. All this while Brazil and Cuba had been calling for slaves ; the traffic had been going on to some extent, as we shall see, even on the coast of Liberia and Sierra Leone, and had shifted its place to the south, in the Bights of Benin and Biafra, and the coast south of the equator, where, indeed, the Portuguese had always found large supplies. When from any commercial cause, or from any action of governments on this side of the water, the demand is less, the trade is dull. Let the demand open, and we have ever found the supply ready. But colonizationists say, squadrons on the coast cannot do the work, but the colonies can. This bold claim of Mr. Clay, (speech at Washington, 1851,) has been that of others. In 1851, it was proposed to withdraw the British squadron from the coast, and Rev. J. L. Wilson, an American missionary at the Gaboon, wrote a letter to a friend in Bristol, (England,) which was printed and sent to Lord Palmerston ; and it was said its statements had much influence in deciding the British authorities to keep up their African squadron. He says, " While it is true important aid has been derived from these settlements in breaking up slave

factories, *it is equally true they could have rendered no such aid* had it not been for the support of English and other men-of-war on the coast, and for the simple reason that *all together they have not sufficient naval force to contend with one armed slaver ;*" as to destroying barracoons, they could not, were not the natives intimidated by the vicinity of armed vessels. Only a year since, the Liberians could not break up the slave factory of New Sesters without aid from French and English vessels ; and the expedition, costing less than eight thousand dollars, seriously impaired their finances. Almost her entire naval armament is a small schooner given by the British government to the Republic ; the land force is small. What is this even with the best intentions, to guard five hundred miles of coast ? A child can see the absurdity.

In view of the futility of these schemes, seeing the slave trade shift to new fields and break out anew, well may we exclaim to the colonizationists in the words of one of our good old hymns, slightly altered, —

" 'Tis but a poor relief *you* gain
To change the *place* and keep the *pain*."

So long as the eight thousand miles of African coast stretches its wide extent, and slavery calls for its victims therefrom, this foolish scheme of stopping the slave trade by colonies is like stopping up a few holes in a large sieve ; and if we wait until the whole coast shall be lined with colonies, the world will have grown old enough for new geological strata to have formed over the surface rocks of our day.

Who rule the Colonization Society ? Slaveholders and their supporters — men who deal in slaves themselves, or defend others in doing so, who would seek to raise a civil war if the domestic traffic were broken up. Our foreign trade is abolished ; the home trade in human chattels

pays better. The *New Orleans Courier*, in 1839, declared that, although the prohibition of the foreign slave trade "put millions annually into the pockets of people living between the Roanoke and Mason and Dixon's line, it would need some casuistry to show the slave trade from that quarter a whit better than the African." A writer in the *New Orleans Argus*, in 1830, estimated the loss of life *by acclimation at twenty-five per cent.*; and in 1837, a committee reported to a meeting in Mobile, that, since 1833, slaves had been annually brought to Alabama from other states, to the value of ten millions of dollars.

What flag has floated over the decks of the greater part of the slavers engaged in the immense traffic of Brazil for the past few years, and given shelter, *surer than any other*, to slavers on the coast of Africa? Under what colors did fifty-three slavers sail from Havana, in 1838-9? THE AMERICAN. In what city did even the *Journal of Commerce*, in 1836, offer to prove that slave ships had been fitted out in that year? Where did Elliot Cresson state a business firm had received two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, as profits of Cuban slave trade? Where did the *New York Mirror* lately intimate that merchants ostensibly rich by sugar trade from Havana, were really so by slave trade? NEW YORK. In what city did a sailor make known to a gentleman the names of those who had paid him large sums, as *hush money*, to keep secret their interest in the slave trade, names so *respectable* that the gentleman dared not repeat them to Mr. Cresson in 1838? BOSTON.

Baltimore clippers are the best slavers; our southern steamers transport slaves; southern cities are slave marts; our squadron on the African coast is a mere farce, only now and then stumbling on a slaver that they cannot well avoid, in the vicinity of vigilant British cruisers. And the Colonization Society, crushing the colored man here,

and controlled by proslavery influences, is full of concern for the slave trade—in *Africa*.

The Liberians are *colored Americans*, and by no means free from the faults of our national education. In Africa, all the slaves sold are captured by those of their own color; and while we believe the Liberians have done better in this matter, perhaps, than a colony of whites would have done, yet it is not to be supposed their virtue is so far above that of the *white American* as to be always proof against the temptations which he cannot withstand. *We must create a better feeling at home*, before we can expect to send out men of any race to Africa who shall be incorruptible.

A few statements of colonizationists, and a few facts, will show how little dependence can be placed on their testimony, and how Liberians have stood in this matter.

“No slaver dares come within one hundred miles of the settlement.” (Rev. Dr. Hawkes, New York Colonization Meeting, 1833.)

“The slave trade has been utterly destroyed along its entire coast, formerly the most frequented mart.” (Report Philadelphia Colonization Society, 1835.)

“From an extent of coast of three hundred miles, this trade has been nearly extirpated.” (Twentieth Report, 1836.)

The following facts perplex one strangely:—

“Four or five years back, there was not a slave factory from Sierra Leone to Cape Mount, one hundred miles, and from Cape Mount to Trade Town, one hundred and twenty miles, the whole coast of Liberia; *more recently*, a factory has been established at Cape Mount, forty-five miles from Monrovia, where the trade is carried on briskly.” (Fifteenth Report, Appendix, 1832.)

The colonial agent, in 1834, states that recently “the Dey people seized and abducted several of the *Liberian boys*,

(for slaves.) The captives were finally liberated." (Af. Rep. xii. 25.)

The *Liberia Herald* mentions the capture of three Spanish slavers by a British brig, while lying in Monrovia Harbor, "*where slavers frequently come to wood and water.*" (Af. Rep. 1836.)

The Herald, of 1835, speaks of a schooner hovering about the harbor, which was "reported to have bought twenty or thirty slaves in the neighborhood."

"Boats have been sent from Spanish slavers up St. Paul's River, and slaves bought in that river." (Letter of Governor, Af. Rep. 1836.)

This river penetrates the heart of the colony, and then had settlements on its banks.

"The slave trade has seriously injured the colony within the last three years. . . . Within a year, *four slave factories* have been established almost in sight of the colony." (Report of Captain Nicholson to Secretary of Navy. Af. Rep. 1837.)

"To-morrow the schooner sails for New Sesters, to take on board a cargo of slaves. . . . I HAVE BEEN OBLIGED TO HAVE ONE HUNDRED SETS OF SHACKLES MADE AT CAPE MESURADO," (Monrovia.) (Intercepted letter of slave captain to owners in Havana, published by British Parliament, dated Little Bassa, between Monrovia and Cape Palmas—September 28, 1838.)

In 1848, Dr. Bacon, of New York, editor of the *Day Book*, a daily paper ably conducted by him, made some severe charges against leading Liberians in regard to the slave trade. Dr. Bacon is a brother of Rev. Leonard Bacon, of New Haven, is not an abolitionist, and says that, previous to going to Africa, he had been a zealous colonizationist. His charges were openly made, and every facility offered for reply through his own columns, *which never were accepted.*

In 1836, he was colonial physician at Monrovia for some months, then spent a year in other parts of Liberia, and more than a year in other sections of the west coast of Africa.

His first article in the *Day Book* was mainly in regard to alleged false statements of REV. J. B. PINNEY, and to his course. Mr. Pinney replied through the *Commercial Advertiser*, and speaks of Doctor Bacon's "course while there," (in the colony,) and intimacy with slave traders "subsequently," closing with "of this more, if necessary."

Dr. Bacon, in reply, says his course as physician was obstructed by want of proper food for himself and patients; that he was followed on leaving, to the boat, by those who begged him to take them to America. As to his "course while there," nothing is said specific, and he challenges any one to say aught against his moral or official character. All his intimacy with slave traders was through the agency of colonists. In 1837, John N. Lewis was *storekeeper in Monrovia* for PEDRO BLANCO, a large slave dealer at the Gallinas, and received large sums from him for services connected with the traffic. While the brig *Ivanhoe*, of Boston, was leaving a cargo of tobacco belonging to Blanco, (at Monrovia, which was a depot for slave traders,) an agent or factor of Blanco's, *boarding at Lewis's house*, named T. Rodriguez Buron, an accomplished Spaniard, was introduced to him by Lewis, with no request from him, (Bacon.) That Buron called on him; he never returned the calls, but always was glad to see him. That other gentlemen of that popular class (slave traders) were introduced, whom he treated with courtesy, as they did him. He was introduced, by Dr. Hall, (governor of Cape Palmas, now, we believe, editor of the *Maryland Colonization Journal*,) to Theodore Canot, an agent of Blanco's, and had a short interview; that, "subsequently," he was resident at Cape Palmas, at mission of the American Board;

made three voyages along the coast ; the vessel stopped at Gallinas and New Sesters to trade with slave owners ; and he landed and saw slave trade in operation ; went also to Gambia, and three other places where it was carried on, and is about publishing a book on the subject ; " this is all " the intimacy with slave traders ; and as to " of this more, if necessary," more is necessary ; *out with it.*

Mr. Pinney *admitted* " that Mr. Lewis, SECRETARY OF THE COLONY, (first chosen by society, then by Liberians,) *was* in Blanco's employ in the slave trade in 1837 ; his warehouse in Monrovia *was* Blanco's depot for slave trade goods ; that Blanco's factor *did* board at Lewis's house ; and that slavers came to Monrovia that year *to get goods for the trade.*" Mr. Lewis was a regular attendant at the Baptist church, son-in-law of its first pastor, paying money to its support.

Dr. Bacon charged another colonist, Mr. Payne, with being at New Sesters, and admitted a mistake growing out of ignorance of initials : said it was a younger brother ; that the house of Mrs. Payne, the mother, was the boarding-place of slave traders and factors, and her principal support derived from them. That their uncle, Rev. C. Teague, Baptist minister, had a storehouse also used as a depot by Blanco ; " dozens of Liberian Christians were actively and joyfully engaged in the slave trade. . . . He was strongly urged by respectable religious Liberians to buy two slaves for his household."

He also implicated Governor Roberts, who wrote a note denying the charge, in reply to which Dr. Bacon said that, in 1837, J. J. Roberts went to Sierra Leone with John N. Lewis, and bought a large schooner condemned and sold as a slaver. The schooner was brought to Monrovia, named the Monrovia, and for some weeks lay in the harbor useless, as the seeming owner had no use for such a vessel. About July 1, Blanco's agent, T. R. Buron, came to Lewis's house, from Gallinas, and soon took the schooner, and sent

her to Gallinas, whence she went to Havana, crowded with slaves, and that Buron told him "he owned her."

In the *Day Book* of July 20, Dr. Bacon says, "The colonists make no reply to the charges brought against them, but say they have something yet withheld against the character of the person making them. What it is, nobody can conjecture ; it has been hinted under the all-meaning expression, "more of this, if wanted." Now, *more is wanted* — the editor wants it, the public want it, and he renews his challenge to the officers and friends of the society to make their charges *public through the press.*" If no other paper will publish, he offered to do so ; and *this offer was never accepted.*

We know nothing of Dr. Bacon's course since that time ; but the frank boldness with which these grave charges were made, and his readiness for reply and investigation, showed a consciousness of their truth. Governor Roberts, Mr. Payne, and some other Liberians were in New York at the time, and it was manly to make the charges when they could seek to refute them. Dr. Bacon also challenged a prosecution for libel.

We find in the following a corroboration of one or more of his charges : —

"February 15, 1838, arrived at this port, under *American colors*, the MONROVIA, last from Liberia, and with bill sale and list of crew from collector of that colony. Has neither register nor sea letter. I have ascertained, without doubt, that she belongs to Pedro Blanco ; has put in here, directed by his agent, for a fitout, and that a cargo of slaves is ready for her. *Blanco's agent in Liberia is J. N. Lewis, commission merchant.*" (Letter of February 23, 1838, from the British consul at Cape de Verd Islands, to Lord Palmerston.)

It should be remembered, that, during the very time these events occurred in Liberia, colonizationists were asking aid

here from good people to help build up the colony and abolish the slave trade.

Rev. A. Constantine, a returned Baptist missionary, in a letter to Rev. Mr. Grosvenor, dated Pittsfield, Vt., July 10, 1849, in regard to some discussions in a Baptist convention on the course of missionaries touching slavery, said, "In Africa, women are bought and sold as wives. The head men own a great many, . . . and sell them again. They are bought when young." The missionaries in Liberia, owing to this practice, found their female scholars liable at any time to be taken from school and sold to heathen husbands, and *talked* of buying them to make them free and obviate this difficulty. It is difficult to learn what was the exact nature of this slavery, but the statement would seem to indicate that the natives in some part of the territory still retained their old habits and views as to the holding human beings in a species of bondage.

Lieut. Forbes, an English officer of high character, and fellow-traveller with the African explorer, Duncan, in his embassy for the suppression of the slave trade, in a work published in London, called *Dahomey and the Dahomans*, said, that domestic slavery existed in Liberia, and that the slave trade was countenanced there.

In reply to a letter written him by Elliot Cresson and Dr. Hodgkin, (of London,) he says he did not visit Monrovia, but was for six months within twenty-five miles, and at Cape Mount met many Liberian citizens. "I know personally two Liberian citizens, sojourners at Cape Mount, who owned several slaves, in the general use of the term, but not its legal sense, as these were what are termed *pawns*, and not intended for foreign slavery. These pawns, as I have stated and believe, are as much slaves as their sable prototypes in the parent states of America, and my informants said almost all the labor in Liberia was derived from a system of domestic slavery. Of domestic

slavery in Liberia there are two classes ; the one common to all Africa, and practised by the aboriginal inhabitants for the most part ; the other not to be complained of if not extended ; of taking servants, apprentices, or pawns, (choose the expression,) obliging them to labor, clothing, feeding, and instructing them ; . . . a citizen of Liberia applied to me as commander of one of her majesty's ships, to procure for him pawns to the value of goods of which he had been despoiled during the civil war at Cape Mount."

Pawns, he says, are also held indirectly by some Englishmen on the coast. An English merchant will take a *femme du pays* to manage his establishment, and never inquire how she hires his servants ; she taking them to pay for debts for goods sold the natives. One merchant has in this way forty pawns, who do his household work, "and are, in all but name, slaves." Other British officers, who have visited the coast and been in Liberia, have said they believed no slavery existed among the colonists.

We have a few months since in our newspapers the statement of Rev. J. Rankin, of Ohio, a clergyman of high character, that a lady, returned from Liberia, said that slavery existed there. From these assertions, coming from persons of character and veracity, it would appear probable that slavery has not been abolished among all the natives, even in the Liberian territory. Indeed, it would be strange if a few thousand colonists could extirpate it wholly from a territory so extensive (five hundred miles by forty) among one hundred and fifty thousand natives. A system of domestic service exists among the colonists, which must tend to create a *caste*, and is unfavorable to the highest idea of freedom. Slavery in an unqualified form we do not suppose exists among them, although the slave trade may be connived at, as it is with us.

The various Liberian constitutions since 1825, we are told, have prohibited slavery and the trade ; with what effect, we have seen. An article in the Appendix to the Tenth Report of the Massachusetts Colonization Society, seeking to explain Capt. Forbes's statement, says, "Possibly he heard some one mention the 'Pons people,' (a recaptured slaver,) and that they were apprentices ; and not knowing that 'Pons' was the name of the ship from which they were rescued, might have mistaken it for *pawns*, such as he had known on the Gold Coast." Very satisfactory !

In the *N. Y. Colonization Journal* of October, 1852, we find that "two steamers with one thousand slaves had got away from the Gallinas. A large armed slaver with ten guns and Spanish colors is reported cruising off the shore. Her majesty's brig Crane was in pursuit ; . . . a boat seen in the Sherbro belonged to a slaver which passed the Crane in the night, with four hundred slaves."

In 1850, the Gallinas was purchased by Liberia, the slave barracoons having been destroyed *by the British*, and much joy was expressed that this old slave mart was broken up.

These facts show what reliance can be placed on the assertions of colonizationists in regard to the slave trade, and that the Liberians have been *true to their American origin* in this matter. The constitution of the republic now prohibits slavery or the slave trade, and there is, no doubt, much less of the traffic there than formerly ; we do not deny it has decreased, but only show that the statements in regard to it are contradictory, and of course colonization assertions should be taken *only when proved beyond a doubt*. The foreign slave trade is piracy in our country ; but we know, partially, how extensively it is aided by American capital and skill. It is for the interest of colonizationists to diminish this trade in Liberia. Some earnestly desire to do it for humanity's sake — others,

and these the real leaders, to make capital of virtue, to shield their home traffic. As we have shown, its abolition from Liberia does no good so long as the demand exists ; the whole colonization theory is false and deceptive on this subject. The Society helps to make slavery reputable, to sustain it ; therefore, to sustain the slave trade.

Colonizationists talk much of developing the resources of Africa, creating a trade in palm oil, ivory, &c., which shall lead the natives to engage in peaceful occupations safer and more profitable than the wasting trade in human beings,—a noble object truly,—but yet the influence of the society tends to defeat it, although the colony has doubtless, to some extent, created such a change. Our commerce with Hayti is constantly embarrassed, and is much less lucrative than it might be, simply because our American prejudice restricts the intercourse. England is even now engrossing a large share of Liberian commerce, for the same reason. The Colonization Society helps to keep up slavery and prejudice ; so long as they exist, barriers must and will be thrown between us and African commerce ; thus this deceptive scheme defeats its own projects.

It may be said, that the towns in the republic are, and ever have been, supplied with churches, and protect many missionary establishments. We can only say, there is much difference between the *nominal* and the *real* of Christianity ; and we would judge Liberia by its *works*, not by the number of its churches. As for missions, we know the idea is made quite prominent, in a work entitled “ Colonization and Missions,” published by the Massachusetts Colonization Society, of protection extended to them. But there are missions existing on the coast hundreds of miles from the colony. The work seems gotten up for effect, and was published, in fact, soon after serious troubles,

which ended at the time in the withdrawal of some missionaries from the colony.

Appeals are made to the religious community to sustain the Colonization Society as a means of evangelizing Africa, and glowing rhapsodies are uttered as to the influence of the Liberian colony in this direction. Again : we are told that too much must not be expected from it, as it is mainly a commercial and political establishment ; but the missionary aspect is ever a prominent one, helping to impart a pious aspect to the movement, and raise the character of the whole scheme. We shall find the colonists have done much as might be expected, from the influences under which they were educated here, and those by which they have been controlled there.

Bargaining shrewdly, fighting hard, ruling the natives by fear, treating them as an inferior caste, — much as we do Indians or Mexicans, — all these may pass current after our Anglo-American model, but hardly accord with “a great missionary enterprise.”

In 1817, Messrs. Mills and Burgess, both clergymen and agents of the society, sought an interview with two native kings. They refused the “palaver” unless rum was had, — a jar for each, — this was a case of conscience, but *compromising expediency is good colonization morality*. The rum was furnished, and the first effort to obtain a tract of land on which to found a missionary colony was made by bewildering the minds and stimulating the passions of the poor natives by the accursed “fire water.” The interpreter gave assurance that “these people come quiet — no war, no fight — if our people do bad, no musket fired, but regular palaver.” How these promises were kept, we shall see. The interview proved fruitless, and, in 1822, Dr. Ayres, in company with Capt. Stockton, (then commanding a United States vessel of war, and ordered to co-operate with the society’s agents,) making a voyage along

the coast, selected Cape Mesurado as a fit place for a colony.

They sought, and with some difficulty obtained, an interview with King Peter, who owned the location desired, and went alone to his capital, three miles in the interior. He was little disposed to a bargain, and at last a storm broke out; some of the natives said they were the people who quarrelled at Sherbro, and accused Capt. Stockton of breaking up the slave trade. A "horrid yell broke from the multitude; every one sprang to his feet, scowling vengeance upon the agents. Capt. Stockton, fully aware of their extreme peril, instantly rose, and, drawing out his pistol, pointed it at the king's head; raising his other hand, he solemnly appealed to the God of heaven for protection. King Peter *flinched at the calm courage of the white man*, and the barbarians fell on their faces at the apparent danger of their king."

The result of this *potent argument* was a successful "palaver," and the mutual signing of a contract for a tract of land, in which the chiefs say, they "are fully satisfied of the *pacific* and just views of said citizens." (Stockton & Ayres.)

Prominent among the articles to be paid for the land were "eighteen guns, two hogsheads of tobacco, three barrels and one cask of powder, fifty knives." How the natives were convinced of the just and pacific views of these gentlemen, or how the fear in regard to the slave trade was quieted, we are not informed; but "palavers" conducted over jars of rum, arguments enforced by loaded pistols, with muzzle close to the brain, and bargains made attractive by powder, muskets, and spirits, were certainly very unlikely methods to insure continued peace, or gain the cordial confidence of the natives—*hardly apostolic, withal, after the olden model*. Behold how a place was gained on which the "little band of missionaries" could find a

home! The facts we gain from the "New Republic," a little work published by the Massachusetts Sabbath School Society in 1850.

In 1826, we find Mr. Ashmun narrating the fact, that a chief was induced to consent to a contract, giving firm foothold at Cape Mesurado, "by the *compliment* of six gallons of rum and an equal value of tobacco," a somewhat singular compliment from a band of missionaries. In 1829, J. B. Russworm, editor of the *Liberia Herald*, said, "*Tobacco, rum, pipes, cloth, iron pots, powder and shot*, are the currency of the colony. Nothing can be done without rum in trade with the natives." In 1831, R. R. Gurley said, "In the judgment of the most worthy colonists, native traders would abandon the colony were spirits excluded from commerce; and if prohibited, it would be offered by *slave traders within a few leagues*." (Af. Rep. January, 1831.)

In the *Liberia Herald* of 1832, the cargoes of two schooners are advertised for sale, principally rum and powder, in part as follows: "Five hundred kegs powder, five hundred muskets, one hundred and fifty cutlasses, ten bags of shot, twelve puncheons of rum and brandy, thirty casks of ale, sixty dozen of spear-point knives, four hundred and sixty-eight pounds of beads, eleven hundred and ninety-seven gallons of rum, three hundred and fifty kegs of powder, two hundred and forty muskets." Thus much in regard to the traffic with the natives in the first ten years of this *missionary enterprise*.

These matters are said to be somewhat mended since, and we hear of temperance efforts in the colony.*

But we find by statements in the *N. Y. Colonization Journal*, that, from 1827 to 1841, the British exports to the

* This brings to mind the fact, that, in 1851, a temperance convention of colored people met in Hudson, N. Y., equal in number to about the whole emigrant population of Liberia. Why did not colonization journals report their sayings and doings?

west coast of Africa were, of *arms and ammunition*, six millions six hundred and ninety thousand dollars ; *spirits and ale*, nine hundred thousand dollars ; and that, from 1844 to 1849 inclusive, the American exports to the same region, of *powder, spirits, and tobacco*, were one million eight hundred and seventy-two thousand eight hundred and seventy-four dollars in value. These amounts are over a fourth of the whole exports to that region ; and of the British commerce nearly a third, of the American probably as large, or a larger proportion, was with the section between Sierra Leone and Cape Mesurado. This would indicate a heavy demand, at a later period, for these notable auxiliaries in civilizing and Christianizing Africa.

Thus was the work begun, of which we learn, —

“It would illuminate a CONTINENT. It would publish the name of Christ on the dark mountains of Africa and the burning sands of the desert. It would kindle up holiness and hope among uncounted tribes.” (Af. Rep. i. 164, editorial.)

The results have been, not peace, but war ; not good will, but fear ; not brotherhood, but looking down on the natives as an *inferior caste* by the colonists.

In the *Repository* (ii. 179) is an account by Rev. Mr. Ashmun, one of the prominent founders of the colony, of a battle with the natives, in which he took a leading part.

“In about twenty minutes after the settlers had taken their stand, the enemy began to recoil. . . . The Americans perceived their advantage, regained the western post, and brought the *long nine* to rake the whole line of the enemy.

“Imagination can hardly figure to itself a throng of human beings in a more *capital state of exposure* to the destructive power of the machinery of modern warfare. Eight hundred men were pressed shoulder to shoulder in so compact a form that a child might easily have walked

on their heads from one end to the other, presenting a breadth about equal to twenty or thirty men, and all exposed to a gun of great power, raised on a platform at twenty or thirty yards' distance. *Every shot literally spent its force in a mass of living human flesh!* Their fire suddenly ceased. A strange yell was raised, which filled the forest with a momentary horror; it died away, and the whole host disappeared. . . . A large canoe, venturing within range of the long gun, was struck by a shot, and several killed."

A few weeks after a second battle was fought, (Dec. 22, 1822,) of which we learn, from the same source, that the natives' "loss, although from the *quantities of blood with which the ground was drenched* considerable, was *much less* than in the former attack."

This second battle is still celebrated by the colonists with military parade, as the day on which they won a firm foothold on African soil; a terrible baptism of blood with which to consecrate a continent to Christian peace and love!

In 1835, war was declared against King Joe Harris, and one hundred and twenty men fought a severe battle, and demolished his towns and strongholds. Soon after, in a letter home from the colonial agent, "powder, lead, cartridges, and field pieces" are asked for to bring this adversary to terms. We cannot often gain knowledge as to the real cause of these contests; the plea of suppressing the slave trade is ever ready, doubtless sometimes true; but in this case, a conversation held in New York, in 1836, between J. B. Pinney and William Goodell, noted down at the time, and published in the "Friend of Man," gives some light on the subject.

"W. G. Is the war with Joe Harris terminated?

"J. B. P. Yes. He was glad to make peace on any terms—(after a pause)—the war was a piece of boy's play on the part of the colonists.

"W. G. In what respect do you mean?

"J. B. P. I mean the war was provoked on the part of the colonists.

"W. G. In what manner?

"J. B. P. Burning the native villages was the immediate cause.

"W. G. I have heard of that, but supposed it would be said by the colonists that this was in retaliation of some injury by the natives.

"J. B. P. In the previous controversy, the blame, I suppose, was about equal. It was a mere question about a little property ; a piece of boy's play ; five dollars would have settled the whole matter."

Mr. Pinney's testimony may be taken as within truth, as both his feelings and interest would be against criminating the society or colonists needlessly.

In the *N. Y. Colonization Journal* is a letter from a colonist, B. V. R. James, dated Monrovia, July 27, 1852, narrating the events of a late expedition against Grando, a native chief, who had a few days previously attacked some settlements and killed several of the inhabitants. A force of one thousand men, colonists and native allies, spent some weeks in a forray, marched through a swamp, and were "attacked by the *fellows*, who fired manfully ;" but Grando's town was taken and burned, and the natives "fled in every direction, burning their towns as they went : . . . some forty towns were burned to ashes." At length Boyer's town (an ally of Grando) was reached, and a battle fought with his "fifteen hundred soldiers, sharp, regular fighters," having "four or five field pieces, which they used *like civilized men*." But the town was taken, the largest the writer "had seen in Africa, containing many spacious houses," and burned to the ground. The native allies, meanwhile, "made good use of their time," plundering the towns destroyed ; and the narrator closes

by saying, "Surely God gave us the victory! . . . During the evening our chaplain, Rev. A. T. Russell, read the fifteenth chapter of Exodus, and offered a most fervent prayer, in which all hearts devoutly joined."

This is, perhaps, the latest *missionary effort* of importance made by the colonists. These contests have been of frequent occurrence, and the spirit in which they are narrated, the evil influences and iniquitous traffic of which they are only the natural results, show the career of the colony to be an evidence that it favors more the views of the *church militant*, whose members "trust in God, *but keep their powder dry*," than those of the followers of the Prince of Peace.

We do not in this matter, take the ground that all war is wrong, or that a colony may not act defensively or offensively, but simply bring these facts to show how Liberia has fulfilled its mission as a means of "evangelizing a continent;" and surely its position is a strange one for a "band of missionaries" to assume.

It may be said that, after all, the colonists have stopped, to a great extent, the wars among the natives growing out of the slave trade, &c. We reply, *They have but transferred them, with that trade, to some other quarter.*

We are now, perhaps, prepared for the following rhapsody:—

"In the providence of God, this society was called into being. Like an angel from heaven, a divinely-chosen messenger of mercy, it carried toward Africa the balm of the gospel. . . . It told her of the joys of the blessed. To give *peace* to her conscience and purity to her heart, it pointed to Calvary. Surely, if there be on earth a spectacle which those bright and holy beings who stand in the presence of the Most High and rejoice over repentant sinners can delight to look on, it must be THIS." (Rev. Mr. Skinner, at Am. Col. Soc. Meeting. Af. Rep. 1838.)

Or, for the assertion of HENRY CLAY at the annual meeting of the society in Washington, in 1848 :—

“At this moment, there are between four and five thousand colonists; and I will venture to say that they will accomplish, as missionaries of the Christian religion, more to disseminate its blessings than all the rest of the missionaries throughout the globe.”

The *N. Y. Express*, in September, 1852, mentions a sale of a large quantity of old-fashioned cannon and howitzers at Washington, and the purchase of a part by Rev. Mr. McLain, secretary of the Colonization Society. Keeping in mind this last addition to the *missionary armament*, the late foray in which fire and sword did their work so efficiently, and *the field drenched in blood* of an earlier day, how astounding the boldness of the following assertion!—

“Its great object, the relief of two continents from slavery and barbarism; its grand result, civil and religious liberty for a whole race. But what is still more remarkable, all these great results have been accomplished legally, justly, and *peacefully*, without aggression or wrong; interfering with no man's rights, intervening upon no nation's prerogatives, and in its quiet and lawful progress exciting neither the *passion* nor prejudices of any. Liberia is the first republic ever established without revolution, WAR, OR BLOODSHED.” (Speech of HON. MR. MILLER, of New Jersey, United States Senate, on “Ebony Line.” *Af. Rep.* April, 1853.)

In what regard the natives are held, what has been the influence of the colony on them, is matter of interest. In 1825, Mr. Ashmun said, (see Gurley's *Life of Ashmun*, Appendix,) “Every month's experience proves that our neighbors are corrupted by the influence of bad example, and derive no benefit from the good set them in this colony. . . . It is not known to every one how little difference can be perceived between an illiterate rustic from

the United States and a sprightly native ; . . . the advantage is *oftenest* on the side of the latter." Of course, he says they have a powerful influence, and, while in the United States, the negro has the 'good example of respectable whites ;' in Africa, he has the 'bad example of the natives.'

In 1836, a letter from R. McDowall, in Monrovia, says, "As to the surrounding tribes, little has been done as yet toward teaching or enlightening them." (Af. Rep. xii. 42.)

The same year, Dr. Skinner, formerly governor of the colony, in Report to Board of Managers, said, —

"But few of the natives have been civilized. I know of but *five* instances, *two* of them professors of religion."

We learn that the "little community is made up of selected individuals." (Idem, 1828.) Yet the same year Mr. Ashmun says, "A more discriminating selection of settlers must be made than ever has been."

In 1828, we are told, "No village in our land, perhaps, exhibits less that is offensive, and more that is gratifying to the eye of the Christian, than Monrovia. Crimes are almost unknown, and the universal respect for the institutions and *duties* of Christianity has struck the natives with surprise, and excited the admiration of foreigners." But letters from G. M. Erskine and A. D. Williams say, "There must be a great moral revolution before the colony can exert a salutary moral influence on the natives. . . . We stand in need of a workhouse to confine licentious females and disorderly persons." (Af. Rep.)

In 1834, J. B. Pinney stated that "nothing had heretofore been done for the natives, except to educate a few, who are in families, in the capacity of *servants*." But the *year previous*, Rev. R. R. Gurley declared in a colonization meeting, in New York, that "ten thousand natives had placed themselves under the protection of the colony,

receiving from it instruction and civilization." Strangely contradictory statements these!

The *Liberia Herald*, of June, 1835, holds the following language: "Such is the dastardly, unprincipled disposition of these half cannibals, (natives,) that nothing but a knowledge of the superiority in physical force on the part of foreigners will keep them to the terms of any contract." Bargains are constantly made with a people of which it is asserted only resistless power, ready to overawe or crush, can compel fulfilment. Of course a display of force must ever be made, and strife and jealousy be the result. This idea of overawing a race shows a conscious superiority, and resolve to maintain it by a course like that this nation has pursued toward the Indian and the negro. The use of the term "fellows" applied to the natives by a colonist in the description of the Grando war, just quoted, shows a similar feeling.

We have sought in vain for mention of marriages between colonists and natives: if such alliances occur, they must be rare. This shows, either that the natives are yet barbarous in manner and habit, or that prejudice raises a barrier between them.

Mr. Pinney's statement in regard to natives educated and employed as servants will be remembered. In the *Repository*, in 1849, is a letter from John Lewis, an emigrant, writing from Monrovia to friends in Philadelphia, of which the editor remarks, "It has a frankness about it which must commend it to all our readers."

The writer, in his easy and natural description of Liberian life, says, "Every family has a number of native servants, *the boys with just a handkerchief about the loins.*" No special fastidiousness, it would seem, as to the *livery* of these servants; they are *only natives*.

In 1850, we learn, of "five hundred natives civilized and admitted to citizenship, ten thousand to a partial right

of protection, and about one hundred and fifty thousand on lands politically subject to the colony." (Facts and Figures.)

All can judge of the character, as well as extent, of the civilization ; it is evident the idea of civilizing the natives is quite subordinate, that little has been effected in that direction, and that a feeling of *caste* exists, which tends to render the advantages they may derive from the colony even less than those derived in some respects by uncivilized people, from intercourse with mere commercial colonies.

Colonization reports and addresses say much of the educational advantages of Liberia. The Report for 1851-2 of the "Trustees for Education in Liberia," — an association of gentlemen, principally in Massachusetts, for endowing a college in the colony, — states that there are some twelve hundred scholars in the Liberian day schools ; this we find copied in other publications. In their report for 1852, it is said that "the number of schools and scholars is *about* the same as previously stated, but the general standard of education lower ; and that those few persons educated in those schools, whose acquirements have done themselves and their country so much credit, must have been persons of peculiar force of character, who would procure respectable education in very inadequate schools."

In a pamphlet published by the society in 1852, as a sort of guide to emigrants and inducement to turn toward Africa, entitled "Information about going to Liberia," &c., it is said, "Good free schools have been established in nearly all the settlements, so that all parents can avail themselves of the facilities thus afforded them. . . . The privilege of having their children properly educated, and prepared for future usefulness and happiness, is one worthy the consideration of the free people of color in the United States." The Eleventh Report of the Massachusetts Colo-

nization Society states that "common schools are sufficiently numerous for the emigrant population."

In 1849, Rev. Mr. Miller, of Princeton, N. J., traveling in England, was examined before a special committee of the House of Lords by the Bishop of Oxford, mainly to gain facts in regard to Liberia, and stated that, "by a law of the state, every parent must educate his children;" and that "*every child of sufficient age, in the families of the colonists, was regular at school,*" leaving the impression, of course, of fair educational privileges. Many similar statements might easily be found; but let us turn to one of a character quite different. In the *N. Y. Colonization Journal*, of July, 1852, is a letter from a colored Liberian teacher, B. V. R. James, in reply to one from J. B. Pinney, asking information. It is dated Monrovia, March 29, 1852; we extract as follows:—

"Does this government support any public schools?"

"I do not know of any now supported by government; they did for a while support a teacher at Sinou. This government has the *disposition, but not the means* at its command, to do all in its power for common education. The revenue is not sufficient to pay the current expenses of the government, especially when is added to our ordinary expenses, *every year or two*, the cost of a war excited either by slavers or unprincipled English traders.

"How many schools have the Presbyterian missions?" &c.

Then follows a statement of schools connected with the different missions, *sixteen in all*, the largest his own, of some sixty scholars, most of them ranging from twelve to twenty pupils, and, at a liberal estimate, numbering *in all under four hundred!* Not capable, with forty scholars each, of educating over six hundred and fifty. Mr. James says, "These are about all the schools I know of in existence in the limits of this republic, and *most of them quite*

inferior, and quite inadequate to the wants of the community. Good teachers are needed, also school books. There are some parents able to purchase school books, *if they were here to purchase.*" This letter, so sad in its tone, apparently so simple, candid, and truthful, and coming from such a source, gives a mournful picture of destitution of the most ordinary means of popular education. In an emigrant population of some seven thousand, beside the great number of natives, (whose elevation we are constantly told is rapidly going on, and constitutes an important part of the mission of the colony,) only some four hundred children and youth in schools, "most of them quite inferior"! We would cast no reflections upon the colonists in this connection; their desires may be right so far as their knowledge extends, and there are men among them able to appreciate the importance of education. But means are wanting; the care of their extensive territory and troubles with the natives absorb time and money.

But what estimate must we form of those who circulate pamphlets here to induce emigrants to go to Liberia, which speak of educational privileges there so "worthy of consideration"? What of the many statements so sadly contradicted by this letter? Granting ignorance as an excuse, how culpable the ignorance of those highly intelligent on most subjects, which helps to mislead a class of abused people and deceive a nation!

We find the number of emigrants sent to Liberia, (including Cape Palmas,) up to 1853, to be about nine thousand. These, with an increase of one per cent. yearly, as a low average, would now number eleven thousand eight hundred. The actual number is not *over* seven thousand; allowing one thousand to have fallen in wars, and we still have *nearly four thousand* smitten by death beyond the ordinary mortality; a terrible loss in so small a population. But it may be said, with care this mortality would

decrease much ; doubtless, but care and prudence are found with intelligence, self-control with a higher culture. Colonization *benevolence* would keep the colored people ignorant here, incapable of exercising those self-preserving traits of character, and then herd them on to the African coast to die of pestilence !

This enterprise has cost about one million five hundred thousand dollars ; had the same sum been expended in elevating the colored people in our country, and spreading juster views of their condition and our duty, vastly greater would have been the result, even granting all the Liberians to be prosperous and happy.

The highest prosperity and culture claimed for Liberia, by the most imaginative colonizationist, does not at all affect our view of the colonization scheme ; for it is the policy of the society to make that colony appear as fairly as possible, *the better to keep up its cruel plans and oppress an abused people here ; to help the few, the better to crush the many.* "

Fortunately for Liberia, the society has been able to send out but few emigrants. Let only the annual increase of the free colored population — some ten thousand — be transported thither for twenty years, in the midst of the natives, where there are no capitalists to give them labor and pay them in return, no means of education, a sickly climate and other troubles, — where would be Liberian culture and improvement ?

Thus far the purchase of land and transportation of emigrants have cost, at a liberal estimate, six hundred and fifty thousand dollars ; more than half the amount raised has been expended in home operations, agents, publications, &c. We can see what their influence has been ; let those support them who will, after knowing the real character of this wicked scheme, the false ideas they promulgate ; either designedly or blindly, each must judge which.

Liberia is now a republic, its constitution prohibiting slavery and the slave trade; that is well, if enforced strictly, as we hope it may be.

The colony has always been strongly under colonization influences, which have been injurious. *It should be remembered, that now half the territory is held in trust for the society, to be granted to emigrants, as it may direct. This makes its independence, we fear, rather nominal than real in many respects.*

Its constitution prohibits white men from holding office. This seems a stroke of colonization policy, to keep up its grand idea of the separation of the races. Surely the colonists need have no fear that any number of whites will brave climate and conquer prejudice to monopolize their few offices. The exclusion is wrong, for it repudiates equal rights. The American, as he helps frame infamous "negro laws" at home, can point to Liberia, and say to the victims of his hatred, "Go there, and you can govern yourselves; why need you stay here among us?"

(A similar exclusion exists, we believe, in Hayti, the fruit of a hatred of the whites, caused by their perfidy and oppression.)

The independence of Liberia has been promptly recognized by England and several European powers, and its agents treated with due courtesy. A similar recognition is sought for here in a manner which reflects little credit on the manly dignity of the Liberians, and shows the craft of the colonizationists. The *New York Commercial Advertiser* says, (see Appendix Ann. Rep. for 1851,) "There is an unwillingness to admit a colored man to the station and intercourse (of ministers, &c.) . . . But, as we understand the matter, the nature of the application on the part of Liberia — and this ought to operate largely in her favor, *for it shows practical good sense, as well as sincere good will — obviates entirely this objection. She desires to*

avoid this difficulty, and proposes to confide . . . the conduct of affairs between the two governments to one of our own citizens."

Mr. Mercer, of Va., and Hon. Mr. Miller, of N. J., both allude in public addresses to the necessity of *prudence* in this *delicate* affair, — probably it has been discussed more in private than public, — for it is of so *agitating* a character that it *might* jeopardize the safety of the Union! — and *very* delicate withal.

If the people of Liberia show a proper self-respect, they will cease to ask for so *humiliating* a favor, and cultivate the good will of other countries who can use them in a more decent manner. Colonization policy has, doubtless, led to this cringing request; it is the voice of slavery echoing from the distant shores of Africa.

So far as Liberian independence has made less intimate the relations with the Colonization Society, it is right well; and if the republic could cut off all connection with the colonizationists, the results could not but be beneficial — a greater prosperity, a higher self-respect, a nobler character.

Let the republic *be independent*, and all wish it well, we trust, its position before the world is a matter of interest from its partial independence, would be of still greater interest were that independence entire, and its connection with the colonization scheme at an end. The good wishes of the community would be with it, colored men would be free to go there, free to remain here *as men*, and could then emigrate *without helping a scheme which is crushing their brethren and deceiving the nation*. We would not detract from the credit due the colonists for what they may have done of good; justice to those in Liberia, *as well as in America*; but we must protest against the false statements of colonizationists in regard to the colony, and show the evil influence it exerts by its connection with the Colonization Society.

It should be remembered that most of our information in regard to Liberia is such as colonizationists choose to give us. Such letters from colonists and statements from other sources as they choose to publish, *an interested party selecting its own testimony*.

We have before us a pamphlet, entitled "Liberia; the Condition and Prospects of the Republic" — a Report to a Colored Baptist Association, in Madison county, Illinois, of a visit made by the author, Elder S. S. Ball, a colored clergyman, to Liberia. He was sent out by a vote of the association to gain information, and Governor French, of Illinois, certifies, under the seal of the state, to his character for integrity, &c.

The pamphlet was published at Alton, Illinois.

His plan was to "remain eight months, but, by advice of Dr. Hall and Rev. Mr. McLain, he sailed in the Liberia packet from Baltimore, April 11, 1848; being informed that the vessel would remain long enough at all the colonies for him to visit the settlements back; and by sleeping on board the vessel at night, he should avoid the African fever." The fever is spoken of as not dangerous with proper attendance, lodging, food, &c., but without them, as "most malignant," and it is "regarded as dangerous for any one to walk out without an umbrella" some seven hours at midday. He states, "There are no horses, asses, mules, or oxen at work there. All farming operations are carried on with the hoe. . . . I saw but one horse in the republic — a mere skeleton;" beef, mutton, &c., are good for eating, and soil generally productive.

In regard to the colonists, those who have houses built, lands cleared, and have passed through the acclimation, "seemed contented," but many of those who had not been acclimated, and had no improvements made, "were in a distressed condition," and emigrants, on arriving there, draw their rations for six months, principally salt provisions,

which they cannot relish while going through the fever. They are, while acclimating, directed by the physician not to expose themselves to sun or rain; consequently cannot clear land, build, &c. At the end of six months no more aid is given, and of course their condition often a trying one, needing much energy of body and mind to meet.

The wealthy colonists live in fine style, houses of brick or frame; "seldom you set down to dine with a gentleman that his table is not furnished with the best of wine and English or German ale." They have "*just as many servants as they wish*," and as much "distinction between the rich and poor as in this country."

The poor often live in houses of bamboo made in the African style. The natives work very cheap, (two dollars per month,) and it is difficult to compete with them; and in case of sickness especially, distress prevails.

He deems the country an excellent one for those to go to who have means—such of course can be of the Liberian aristocracy—to use his own words, "Engage in a most lucrative trade, and live in luxury and ease;" but, he says, "as to going without means, I consider it one of the *worst countries* to go to:" between the poor here and there "there is no comparison."

As to religious matters, he quotes a letter to himself from Rev. Mr. Teague, a Baptist Liberian clergyman, who says, "Truth compels me to say, the churches are doing nothing for the spread of the gospel. . . . Vain show, elegance of dress, leave nothing for the members to give to a minister who deals out the bread of life to them."

The morals of the people "seemed to be good."

As for the natives, they generally adhere to their country customs, having "from two to twenty wives." Many live with the colonists, "bound to them for a term of years under what is called the apprentice system." . . . I asked if they were bound to educate them. They told

me they were not, unless they chose to, but "generally sent them to a native school, if one was convenient." They (the colonists) said natives could not be admitted into schools with the American children: . . . they were heathen, and not thought worthy. You could not get a native into a colonial school in Monrovia. Nearly all the wealthy people about Monrovia have from ten to fifteen bound natives about their premises. They wear, with few exceptions, nothing but a *rombold* (a piece of cloth about a yard square) during the week; but on the Sabbath, a flimsy suit of cotton clothes. . . . At church they sit together in the rear of the congregation, and in no instance did I see a native take a seat by the side of a colonist. . . . I was quite disgusted on my first arrival to find so many naked persons; . . . but what do you suppose must have been my feelings when I saw them in civilized and Christian families, even in those of ministers and some missionaries? . . . How sadly was I disappointed when I saw the condition of these poor natives among the colonists; looked *down upon* as their inferiors. A friend said to him, if they were better treated they "would be insolent and saucy, and rise and cut the throats" of the colonists. Such is the prejudice, that there had never been, he was told, more than two or three intermarriages between natives and colonists. Mission schools for natives are spoken of where a hundred or two were taught; some were good readers, and a few had become preachers, &c., of some learning and character. He visited one school of twenty-five, where all were clothed except the boys under twelve, who "wore their *country clothes*."

Transportation is by water, or on the heads of natives by land; they are used to pack every thing horses carry with us.

He says, "I saw a few buggies, designed to *work natives*

in. They are constructed a little different from ours, having shafts before and behind ; with one seat, to be drawn by two natives. But I learn from the journal of an African cruiser, written by Lieut. Bridge, of the United States navy, that he saw a buggy there, belonging to a missionary, who worked eight natives in it. This mode of travelling is by no means common among the colonists, but they are confined to the missionaries ; although these vehicles have not, I presume, been as much used by the missionaries as the rocking chair, as they are called — the missionaries' horse."

The conclusion Mr. Ball arrives at, after his apparently candid statements, is, "The only way in which he should be willing to go to Liberia, would be in a company provided with some means of living in such manner as they might choose ; and in this way a reasonable degree of comfort could be secured to each family, and in no other way."

It will be remembered he speaks of the great need of good lodging, &c., in the acclimating season. In the last Annual Report of the New York State Colonization Society, it is admitted, that of one hundred emigrants sent out in the Ralph Cross to Bassa county, sixty have died ; it is said, because the houses being prepared for them were destroyed by hostile natives, and they suffered severely in acclimating.

In the *N. Y. Colonization Journal*, for June, is a letter from an emigrant just settled in Grand Bassa, named George Anderson, to the editor. He is resolved to stay, and speaks well of the natural capacities of the country, but speaks of inconveniences met with, as follows : "When you have land, there being no animal labor, you are forced to plough with a hoe ; there is a scarcity of provisions, so that, if a man is willing to do an honest days' work, he is not able ; he is too weak ; the natives generally do not want to work, and will not. . . . You

must provide a driver for them, or they will not earn a bar (twenty-five cents) a day. American labor is scarce, and from seventy-five cents to a dollar a day. . . . We want more population, more intelligence, and men of energy and perseverance; for many come here not very stable-minded; soon get discouraged. . . . I take the liberty to think the great fault is in the present population." His statements in regard to animal labor and food are corroborated by a returned emigrant, (see "Frederic Douglass's paper," July,) who says, most provisions colonists can healthily use are imported, and consequently at times scarce.

These facts need no comment; the condition of the colonists, as a whole, we find much as might be expected, taking into account the difficulties by which they have been surrounded, and the strong colonization influence among them.

As for the colonization plea of nationality for the colored people, we ask foreigners to become *Americans*, and make the interests of the country their own; but the colored man must be an alien, and seek in Africa what they are to find here. On the same principle, we should urge the German back to his "*vaterland*," the Norwegian to his rocky Northland, the Irish to the green isle of Erin, the Anglo-Saxon to England—there would be no Americans but the Indians.

This plea is the offspring of prejudice and hatred, is often assented to without thought, but full of evil, fraught with woe to the colored people, should be repudiated by all, as it has been so nobly by them. We must learn to labor earnestly, and wait with invincible patience for the truth of God to break down the walls of separation man has built against his brother.

CONCLUSION. — BOTH SIDES.

WE have presented some charges and complaints against the measures and plans of the American Colonization Society, and the sentiments and ideas of its prominent and *leading* supporters. The facts and arguments brought forward we must leave to the thoughtful and candid attention of every reader.

Although we have endeavored to give a correct view of the spirit and purposes of the society, it may *possibly* be objected, that sentiments of a different character, from many of those we have quoted, may be found in the writings and addresses of colonizationists. We therefore present, in parallel columns, a few specimens of the two sides of this subject; and if any colonizationist desires to do the society and its advocates ampler justice by an enlargement of these varied aspects, and publish the result, the field is of course open to do so.

The task would, we fear, be an unwelcome one, since every page of such a work would be a condemnation, and at the same time a striking proof of the duplicity of this association, and furnish the clearest and strongest evidence possible, either that compromising expediency had usurped the place of principle in the minds of its leading advocates, or that their moral vision had become so darkened that they might well be termed "blind leaders of the blind."

"To found in Africa an empire of *Christians and republicans*; . . . RAPIDLY but legally, silently, gradually, to drain them off." (Af. Rep. ii. 375.)

"At *no very distant* period we should see all the free colored people transferred to their own country; . . . returning them improved in knowledge and civilization, we repay the debt long due them." (Idem, i. 65, 176.)

"Rev. Robert Findlay, said, 'Could they be sent to Africa, . . . *we should be cleared* of them. We should send a population *partly* civilized and Christianized for its benefit.' " (Same speech of Mr. Morehead.)

"The undertaking of African colonization is emphatically a missionary undertaking." (Rev. Mr. Bulfinch, same meeting.)

"As a class notoriously *ignorant*, . . . *scarcely reached in their debasement by the heavenly light*." (Af. Rep. i. 68.)

"Admitting that the scheme contemplates the ultimate abolition of slavery, yet that result could only be produced by the *slow and gradual* operation of *centuries*." (Idem, i. 217.)

"To disclaim all attempts for . . . the instruction of the great body of the blacks." (Speech of H. Blecker, N. Y. Col. Soc. 1831.)

"Here, in the midst of us, exists . . . a people inferior and degraded, . . . the descendants of an ancestry as ignorant as themselves, (the slaves.) . . . But closely connected is another class, less numerous, *but equally degraded*, the colored freemen. . . . The proposal is to civilize Africa by colonizing *them*." (Speech of Mr. Morehead, of Ky. Col. Meeting, Washington, D. C., 1842.)

"Who will decide this question in favor of the perpetual, hopeless slavery of these suppliants? . . . Master and slave both ask our aid; our duty is the same as if we heard the masters offer freedom, and saw the falling tear of the supplicating slave." (Mass. Col. Soc. Report, 1848.)

"It proposes to colonize, *with their own consent*, those who are free, and it appeals to the humane and philanthropic . . . in the name of all that is noble and great." (H. R. W. Thompson. Appendix Ann. Rep. 1849.)

"Except as a matter of *humanity*, the white population of the north have no direct interest in colonization. The blacks are not sufficiently numerous to make their influence felt." (N. Am. Review on Slavery, &c., 1851.)

"In restoring them to the land of their fathers, it is not with arms in their hands

"We have nothing to do with the *ifs* or *ands* of the case. We take the broad ground that slavery has done Africa and the African race a good, a *great good*." (Rev. Joel Parker, D. D., Annual Meeting, Washington, 1847.)

"It *only* remains then that they be *removed* from the state; . . . this may be done, *ought* to be done, and done *now*: . . . it is now *desirable*, and will soon be *absolutely necessary*." (Memorial to Va. Legislature. *Indorsed* by Am. Col. Soc. 1849.)

"The Ohio valley has been selected by the black man as the theatre upon which the great battle for his rights is to be fought. . . . The framers of your constitution never designed to *Africanize* the state. Its white citizens will yet oppose . . . equal privileges." (Memorial to Ohio Legislature by Col. Agent, 1850.)

"Every shot spent its force in a mass of living human flesh:" . . . "the quantity of

to subdue or expel. . . . The only warfare to be anticipated is that of mind with mind. . . . It is the reality of the fable of Valentine and Orson, in which the former had only to use the stratagem dictated by fraternal love, and his bloodless conquest is sure. The weapons are those of civilization and Christianity." (*Baltimore Sun*, in pamphlet on colonization and mail steamers.)

"Every conceivable interest will be promoted; civilization, commerce, religion, will all be promoted by the transfer of the free people of color with their own consent from the United States to Africa. And what interest or what population will be injured by such transportation? None, none whatever." (Speech of H. CLAY, U. S. Senate, Jan. 15, 1851.)

blood with which the field was drenched." . . . "We need muskets, blank cartridges, field pieces, &c." . . . "Forty native towns were burned to ashes;" . . . and other extracts from accounts of dealings with natives of a similar character.

"I wish, with respect to these poor creatures, to say nothing to *wound their feelings* which is not warranted by truth and experience, and sad daily observation. It is not their fault that they are a debased and degraded set, . . . more addicted to vice and crime and dissolute manners than any other portion of the people of the United States." (H. CLAY, Annual Meeting at Washington, 1851.)

We have the wolf in sheep's clothing on one side; on the other, the bold front of the fiend, wearing no disguise. In whatever Protean shape this iniquity may clothe itself, let all beware of it. It is not too much to say, that no

society, professedly philanthropic, exists in the world so hypocritically deceptive and evil in its influence, so far as its power extends, as the American Colonization Society ; and should any deem this too severe condemnation, let them read the following chapters, and find other opinions, worthy of high regard, which coincide in many respects with our own. Surely a voice of warning and rebuke should go forth from pulpit and press against such an association.

OPINIONS OF FREE PEOPLE OF COLOR.

THE Colonization Society claims to be especially friendly to the free people of color. Its advocates say that its plans are for their peculiar benefit, and that their concurrence in those plans would result in their highest good.

Yet it is a significant fact, that the great majority of the colored people of our country are, and always have been, opposed to it.

It is said by some, that the influence of the abolitionists has filled their minds with unjust prejudices. It is a sufficient reply to say, that in 1817, so soon as the society was formed, years before the commencement of the anti-slavery movement, this opposition commenced. From the very beginning of its operations, the colored people saw clearly its spirit and purpose, and recorded their repeated testimony against it in clear and decided language.

The first public meeting of colored people in opposition to the scheme of colonization was held in Richmond, Va., in 1817, and its proceedings were printed for distribution.

Soon followed a similar meeting in Philadelphia ; and from that time to the present, scarcely a large gathering of colored people has taken place for the discussion of topics connected with their general interests without resolves and addresses against the Colonization Society being approved and published. We give the resolves passed in the Philadelphia meeting, held in Bethel Church, January, 1817.

Resolves, reports, and addresses from New York, Bos-

ton, Baltimore, Hartford, New Haven, Nantucket, Pittsburg, Rochester, Providence, &c., at different times, might be given ; but from the Philadelphia meeting, as an early verdict of those whom the society especially claims to benefit, we must pass to some of the similar expressions within the past two years, to show that the present verdict — after thirty-five years' knowledge of its movements and spirit — is the same.

“Whereas, our ancestors (not of choice) were the first successful cultivators of the wilds of America, we, their descendants, feel ourselves entitled to participate in the blessings of her luxuriant soil, which their blood and sweat enriched ; and that any measure or system of measures, having a tendency to banish us from her bosom, would not only be cruel, but in direct violation of those principles which have been the boast of this republic.

“*Resolved*, That we view with deep abhorrence the unmerited stigma attempted to be cast upon the reputation of the free people of color by the promoters of this measure, ‘that they are a dangerous and useless part of the community,’ when, in the state of disfranchisement in which they live, in the hour of danger they ceased to remember their wrongs, and rallied around the standard of their country.

“*Resolved*, That we never will separate ourselves voluntarily from the slave population of this country ; they are our brethren by the ties of consanguinity, suffering, and wrong ; and we feel there is more virtue in suffering privations with them, than fancied advantages for a season.

“*Resolved*, That without arts, without science, or a proper knowledge of government, to cast into the savage wilds of Africa the free people of color, seems to us the circuitous route by which they must return to perpetual bondage.

“*Resolved*, That, having the strongest confidence in the

justice of God and the philanthropy of the free states, we cheerfully submit our destinies to the guidance of Him who suffers not a sparrow to fall without his special providence.

JAS. FORTEN, *Chairman*.

RUSSELL PARROTT, *Secretary*."

A few only among many expressions of a later date can be given. Their sentiments are worthy the most serious attention and consideration.

At a meeting in the Belknap Street Association Rooms, Boston, Mass., June 22, 1847, the following among other resolves were unanimously passed : —

"Whereas, the late efforts put forth by Rev. Heman Humphrey, in behalf of the American Colonization Society, in this city, demand notice of this meeting, composed of those for whose special benefit this *expatriating institution* was *ostensibly* organized : —

"*Resolved*, That we do now — as we have since its origin — protest against the operations of that society and its auxiliaries, as in direct opposition to our best hopes, prospects, and rights, and at variance with the dictates of Christianity and republicanism.

"*Resolved*, That we are *Americans by birth*, and firmly pledged *never to leave this land* until the last shackle shall fall from the limbs of the last American slave.

H. WEEDEN, *Chairman*.

E. B. LAWTON, *Secretary*."

In August, 1852, the American Baptist Missionary Convention (colored ministers and delegates) met in Belknap Street Church, Boston.

"*Resolved*, That this convention view with deep abhorrence the unmerited stigma cast upon the reputation of the free people of color by the promoters of the American Colonization Society. That we reject its inhuman and

barbarous position of driving us from the land of our birth to one of sickness, devastation, and death, when they are unwilling to give us a Christian education while among them.

“Resolved, That the principles and objects of the American Colonization Society are at war with the Scripture injunction, ‘Do unto others as ye would that others should do unto you ;’ cruel, subtle, iniquitous, and devilish — and they elicit, as heretofore, our irreconcilable repugnance.”

Mr. W. J. WATKINS said, “If we will go three thousand miles from them, they will love us with a vengeance ; but if we resolve like men to maintain our rights in the land of our birth, — rights guarantied by the Declaration of Independence, — we call forth their intensified hate.” Rev. Dr. VAUGHN, president, said, “These sentiments and resolves should be proclaimed on the house tops.”

A State Convention of the colored people of New York was held in the Capitol at Albany, through three days of July, 1851 ; the attendance was large and respectable, and topics bearing upon the interests of those assembled were discussed.

Resolves against the Colonization Society were passed, and a committee brought in a report on the subject, adopted unanimously, after interesting and able discussions. We extract as follows : —

“And to tell us that we cannot rise to a standard of high moral, social, and intellectual elevation with the white man of this country, throws no damper of timidity over our exertions and resolute perseverance to pursue the attainment of these objects with the indomitable spirit of Americans struggling for American rights.”

Were these noble sentiments uttered by oppressed Magyars, what a high respect would be expressed ! what a thrill of deep feeling would run through every heart ! They continue : —

“Have we not many things to encourage us? Have we not, even amid all deprivations and dangers, slowly, yet steadily, made advances in the improvement of our moral condition and mental acquirements? The darkness of the past, the dawning light and development of the present, and the bright, hopeful future, all inspire us with confidence to go onward, aiming upward, trusting in the will of Providence, and the growing moral sentiment of the American people, that the withheld rights of a portion of that people will, sooner or later, be bestowed upon them. . . . We must express our happy pleasure at the failure of the Colonization Society of this state to obtain, at the recent session of the legislature, an appropriation of ten thousand dollars a year, for two years.”

Alluding to the “bold scheme” of African mail steamers proposed in Congress, —

“Nothing said, of course, about bringing them (emigrants) *back*, should they dislike the country or find the hot climate injurious to health and life; for, *once there, they must remain*. Let it not be said none desire to return. We have proof to the contrary. The object is to *get you out* of the country by suasion and possibility, if it can be done; but *not to bring you back* under any circumstances whatever. . . . Fellow-citizens, let no fascinating inducements—no eloquent rhetoric—no eulogistic encomiums of Liberia draw you into the snares of your *dear, philanthropic, expatriating friends*; but by every means in your power, while you do nothing intentionally detrimental to the development and evangelization of Africa, by opposing any men or body of men who choose to emigrate there or elsewhere, under other influences than the Colonization Society, battle against this subtle scheme and corruption, at all times, and under all circumstances.”

The report also condemns the readiness of the Liberians to be represented by a white American at Washing-

ton, if their independence can be recognized by the government, as "an inglorious negotiation." WM. H. TOPP, of Albany, president of the Convention, A. G. BEEMAN, of New Haven, WM. RICH, of Troy, J. M. WILLIAMS, of Albany, vice presidents.

On the 14th of January, 1852; a State Convention of the colored people of Ohio met in the Union Baptist Church in Cincinnati, continuing its sessions for five days. The attendance was large, the discussions earnest and able. Letters were received from Hon. Horace Mann, Cassius M. Clay, Hon. Charles Durkee, of Wis., Hon. N. S. Townshend, of O., and others. Various topics were discussed, but those of far greatest interest were African colonization, and a proposal in favor of emigration *en masse* to some part of this continent. The discussions continued through an entire day on these subjects; and when the vote was taken on the colonization question, *only two* voted in favor of the society; and on emigration, the vote stood *four to one* against the scheme. The large church was constantly crowded, and a deep interest manifested. The resolves on colonization and emigration were as follows:—

"*Resolved*, That we believe the primary, secondary, and ultimate object of the American Colonization Society is the exportation of the free people of color from the United States, and thereby to render slave property more secure and valuable. We do therefore condemn unconditionally the society and its advocates." (Adopted.)

"*Resolved*, That, in the voluntary emigration of the colored people of the United States, we see the only relief from the oppressions of the American people, and we believe the concentration of the colored race at some point on the continent will react favorably upon the institution of slavery." (Rejected.)

JOHN M. LANGSTON, of Lorain, president; H. Head, of

Mercer, T. H. Clark, W. M. Nelson, of Hamilton, secretaries.

At a meeting in Rochester, N. Y., in Ford Street Baptist Church, August 9, 1852, —

“ *Resolved*, That the scheme of the Colonization Society was concocted for expatriating the free colored people, thereby tending to perpetuate slavery, and involving in itself every thing inimical to their interests ; and, as such, it cannot be too strongly deprecated or too vehemently opposed.

“ *Resolved*, That it is the right and duty of every colored man to remain in this country, and use every possible effort for the overthrow of slavery.

W. MOORE, *Chairman*.

WM. C. NELL, *Secretary*.”

In New Bedford, Mass., at a meeting in Third Christian Church, October 11, 1852, —

“ *Resolved*, That we reiterate our oft-expressed and unchanged opinion against that iniquitous handmaid of slavery, the American Colonization Society, whether it appears under the auspices of its hypocritical and anti-Christian supporters, or receives the countenance and advocacy of professed friends. In our judgment, the principles of the society are one and inseparable ; and, believing they are based upon a prejudice against our color, as such we hold them in utter detestation.

W. H. WOODS, *President*.

R. C. JOHNSON, *Secretary*.”

In July, 1852, a meeting was held in Baltimore, of delegates from the city and different sections of the state, in which, after warm discussion and much excitement, resolves were passed for examination of the different foreign localities for emigration, giving preference to Liberia, and

also in favor of efforts for elevation at home. The excitement, it would seem, grew out of the alleged fact that the meeting was called in such manner as not to be known to the colored people of the city ; and a few days after they held a large meeting, and issued an address, *unanimously* declaring that the late convention, "claiming, as it did, to be composed of delegates from city and country, so far as the city was concerned, *nine tenths* of them knew nothing what was being done in their name ; that it was gotten up by a few individuals ; the proceedings known to but few of our people ; hence the excitement among them when they became generally known." They say they are not opposed to *voluntary* emigration, "but did not at any time elect delegates to the so called Colored Colonization Convention ; and declare that we gave said delegates no authority whatever to represent the views and feelings of our people.

PHILIP SCOTT, *President*.

JAS. GRAY, *Secretary*."

In 1850, a few colored people in New York formed a society, called the "New York and Liberia Agricultural and Emigration Society," to coöperate with the Colonization Society. Colonization journals reported this society far and wide as an evidence of growing readiness of colored people to go to Liberia. At a meeting held in Abyssinian Baptist Church, New York, January 13, 1851, Rev. J. F. Raymond, president, a resolve, passing "unqualified condemnation" upon the association, was passed. At the same meeting, letters were read from two colored men, chosen vice president and treasurer of the association, saying such choice was without their knowledge, and they should not act, one declaring himself an enemy to it. In a few months, the colonizationists themselves were obliged to advertise its president as dishonest. Considerable money was collected by various devices ; one colored man

and family went to Liberia ; no other person, we believe, or possibly one ; and the whole affair proved a miserable failure. The colored people condemned it also in Albany, at a convention, and thus set the seal of their reprobation upon a wretched abortive project to draw them into a connection with the Colonization Society.

Occasionally a colored man is in favor of the plans of the society, and in a few instances meetings of colored people have expressed similar opinions ; but such instances have been rare, and the meetings not composed of the more intelligent and clear-sighted part of the colored people ; not gatherings, the discussions in which showed that earnest feeling, that eloquence and ability, found in the many large assemblies in which the whole scheme has been exposed and condemned. The colonization journals, full of professed regard to the colored man, give no full and accurate accounts of these meetings ; merely a passing allusion, often not even that. The meeting in Baltimore alluded to, in which resolves favoring Liberia were passed, was fully reported in the *N. Y. Colonization Journal* ; the meeting held soon after, repudiating their doings, *not reported at all*, so far as a diligent search enables us to find. Why cannot journals professing regard for the colored people fairly report their views on this subject, and reasons for those views ? We forget, probably, that they attend *only* to the *exclusive object* of the society, and cannot, of course, run into these topics.

At a meeting in Albany, January 20 and 21, 1852, Rev. J. W. C. PENNINGTON, chairman, an address to the people of the United States, by DR. J. McCUNE SMITH, was adopted — an able refutation of Governor Hunt's statements and views in favor of an appropriation to the Colonization Society, by the state legislature, in his message of 1851–2. The address says, —

“We feel and know these animadversions misrepresent our condition and prospects, and are unwilling they should mould the public opinion in regard to us. . . . While we yield to none in respect for his office, that very respect will not allow us to silently permit his exercise of it to be used for our detriment. . . . We are not ‘debarred from all participation in public employment;’ in proportion to our attainment, and efforts to secure the same, we obtain and hold public employment. . . . Colored men hold office in the gift of the people in Essex county, in this state, and have *refused* office in Oneida; have been nominated, and received a fair share of votes for high offices; and if they have failed of being elected, it may, perhaps, be attributed less to their demerits than to the peculiar avidity and denial of self with which our white fellow-citizens seek such encumbrances. . . . If we are rejected from most of the institutions of learning and religion, it is from influences apart from our complexion, and *from without the state*. In 1837, 1839, and 1843, when colored youth, duly qualified, were rejected from equal privileges in the Protestant Episcopal Theological Seminary in this state, . . . the bishop gave as a reason for such rejection, the fear of a commotion in the church at the south. In 1846, when a colored student, duly qualified, was presented for admission to the College of Physicians and Surgeons of New York city, he was denied admission, on account of anticipated opposition of students from the slave states. In the autumn of 1851, when a colored student had been *promised* admission into the medical school at Albany, he was rejected, on account of the opposition of a medical student from the south. In all these instances, the professors of these institutions expressed with profound regret that their pecuniary dependence upon southern students was the *sole reason* for making a

rejection repugnant to their own feelings and local opinions. Hence it appears, that southern young men, arrogating to themselves the title of gentlemen, who in infancy had drawn nutriment from the breasts of black mothers, (as nurses,) the cost of whose bringing up, nay, the very clothes upon whose backs, are paid for by the unrequited labor of black men and women, have come into the free State of New York, and succeeded in closing those seats of learning to colored men, in order to make capital for slavery out of the ignorance of free people of color. And so far from these exclusions being arguments against that portion of freedom which has been vouchsafed to us, they are palpable proofs of the chains which the south has forced upon men of science and sanctity in this state.

. . . Churches are breaking away slowly ; Catholics have no colored churches ; the Presbyterian Union Theological Seminary is open ; the Baptists are more liberal. . . . The governor says, ' We are governed by laws we have no share in framing ; ' . . . now four fifths of us can vote. . . . We had labored under the impression that the governor occupied a position not unimportant in relation to the framing of laws ; and we would respectfully submit, touching the present incumbent, whether the fact that he was elected to that office by the vote of colored men in King's county, cast for him in belief of a liberality of sentiment on his part touching the Fugitive Slave Law, should not have left a more lively, if not a more grateful, impression upon his memory. (Governor H.'s majority was only two hundred and fifty.) . . .

Colored men through the state are farmers, blacksmiths, engineers, shoemakers, carpenters, merchant tailors, clergymen, teachers, editors, physicians, &c. . . . New York, Williamsburg, and Brooklyn have a third of the colored population of the state ; and in those cities they have, *at*

low estimates, invested in business carried on by themselves eight hundred and thirty-nine thousand dollars, and own in real estate, *deducting encumbrances*, one million one hundred and sixty thousand dollars. Twenty years ago they held in the same cities, in real and personal property and business investments, eight hundred and sixty-one thousand dollars, and have since increased in population twenty-five per cent., and in wealth one hundred per cent., while the proportion of deaths in 1821 was one in twenty-two; in 1845, one in forty-one. . . . Proportion of scholars in schools about the same as the whites.*

"The *only statistics* the governor gives are a decrease, as per census from 1840 to 1850, of two thousand and ninety. The census is quite inaccurate; one of the marshals made no separate account of the many colored people in Williamsburg; but, granting it correct, the census of Montgomery county showed a decrease in ten years of three thousand nine hundred and five. Why does he not recommend their colonization in view of this decrease? . . . We protest against such appropriations, because the Colonization Society is a *gigantic fraud*, professing to love, while it systematically encourages hate; . . . professing to liberate the slave, while it binds more firmly the fetters of the intralled."

Soon after a visit of Rev. J. B. PINNEY to Syracuse, N. Y., and the formation of a County Colonization Society there, a meeting of the colored people was held, (March 18, 1853,) and resolves passed unanimously, after interesting addresses by Messrs. Vashon, Keene, Loguen, and others.

* Contrast with these statistics the assertion of HON. R. McLANE, at the annual meeting in 1849, at Washington. "In the free states we shall find the free blacks going down lower and lower. In New York, who can deny that the race has gone down each year socially, politically, and in numbers? — where such beautiful evidences of civilization smile upon us, and so many spires point to heaven."

"*Resolved*, That our *abhorrence* of the scheme of African colonization is not in the *slightest degree abated* ; that we recognize in it the most *intense hatred* of the colored race, clad in the *garb of pretended philanthropy* ; and that we regard the revival of colonization societies in various sections of the Union, and the expulsion of colored citizens from Delaware, Indiana, and Iowa, and more recently from Illinois, as kindred manifestations of a passion fit only for demons to indulge in.

"*Resolved*, That we have heard with the deepest regret of the formation of a colonization society in our own county of Onondaga ; but that, even in view of this sad event, we have reason to congratulate ourselves on the fact, that the great majority of its members are of a character so generally and definitely known as to raise doubts with reference to the real benevolence of an association thus constituted."

At a meeting in Providence, R. I., April 27, 1853, it was

"*Resolved*, That the colonization scheme, ever false and unjust, because existing and persisting in error and injustice, is no less entitled to our uncompromising condemnation and contempt, because it makes prominent the false plea that it is the Christianizing and civilizing of Africa that impels them to effort."

In Ohio, the colored people held meetings repeatedly, to express their feelings against the action of Mr. Christy, the colonization agent, whose memorials, &c., we have alluded to.

In Columbus, Jan. 29, 1849, a large meeting in one of the churches declared the object of the society to be the removal of free colored persons, that slaves might be more secure ; that they viewed the memorial of Mr. Christy to the legislature as against their interests, and its author as their "*inveterate enemy*."

At an enthusiastic meeting, held in the same church, (Second Baptist,) Feb. 3, 1851, to "take into consideration a memorial recently presented to the legislature by the Ohio committee of correspondence of the American Colonization Society," the statement of said memorial, that some of the colored people of Ohio were prepared to go to Liberia, and many were investigating the subject, was declared unfounded in fact ; " . . . "prejudicial to their peaceably enjoying their homes and social and religious privileges here ;" and it was .

"*Resolved*, That such men as N. L. Rice, David Christy, and their coadjutors, are avowed friends of slavery and slaveholders, . . . ready to obey the mandates of slavery in the social circle, at the ballot box, in the pulpit, and therefore seek the expulsion of the free colored people, to make slave property more secure and valuable.

JOHN BOOKER, *Chairman*.

J. POINDEXTER, *Secretary*."

At a State Convention, January 19, 1853, the following strong and clear expression of opinion was adopted : —

"*Resolved*, That we regard the American Colonization Society as one of our worst enemies—in that, while it professes philanthropy, in one breath it says to the north, 'It tends to rid us gradually of slavery,'—to the south, 'Into our account the question of emancipation does not enter at all,'—to the east, 'Every emigrant is a missionary,' &c.,—and to the west, 'The free blacks are a nuisance, scarcely reached in their debasement by the heavenly light.' We feel that to encourage such a society, however Christian its *professions*, would be unchristian ; or to countenance any bill in the state or national legislature, appropriating money to forward its objects, would be not only unconstitutional, but self-degrading.

A. J. GORDON, *President*."

A resolve was also passed against "Cushing's Bill." At a meeting in the Union Baptist Church, Cincinnati, Feb. 4, 1853, —

"*Resolved*, That we are opposed to the whole scheme of colonization, as presented by the society, and to colonization itself, so far as it applies to the removal of the free people of color to Liberia or any portion of Africa. . . .

"*Resolved*, That we believe there is no real conflict of interest between the white and colored races of this country."

A national convention of the free people of color was held in Corinthian Hall, in Rochester, N. Y., the 6th, 7th, and 8th of July, 1853; delegates from different states were present, the discussions were conducted with much ability and interest, and the large and beautiful hall (capable of containing eighteen hundred persons) was filled in the evening sessions. We give some of the expressions touching the colonization movement. Other subjects connected with the welfare of the colored people and of our country were also discussed.

The address to the colored people of the United States, prepared by FREDERIC DOUGLASS, chairman of the committee chosen for that purpose, says, —

"We ask that no appropriations whatever, state or national, be granted to the colonization scheme. We would have our right to leave or remain in the United States placed *above* legislative interference."

The following is one of the resolves on the subject : —

"*Resolved*, That, as for the Colonization Society, we have no sympathy with it; we have long since made up our minds to plant our trees on American soil, and repose beneath their shade."

Extracts from Report of Committee on Colonization, Rev. J. W. C. Pennington, chairman : —

"Your committee cannot report any change in the poli-

cy and spirit of the *American Colonization Party*. That party is still our *traducer*; there are honorable exceptions, but what we have said is true of the party. . . . None of that party are *abolitionists*, and although some of them *profess* to be antislavery, yet they never utter a word of rebuke to the slaveholders. . . . We do not believe the party has increased numerically. It has *appeared* to increase; that is a part of its policy. . . . We demur to the claims of *bona fide* independence on the part of Liberia, because the colonization party in this country, several of the slave states, and proslavery individuals, still exert a controlling influence *over its territory*."

Dr. Pennington said, "He felt degraded, scandalized, that President Roberts, of Liberia, should come over here to be made a tool of by the Colonization Society; that he should come to a government for aid known as an enemy of the colored race." This was said in allusion to a visit to this country, by President Roberts, a few years since.

It is worthy of remark, that REV. R. R. GURLEY, a well-known colonizationist, was present at some of the sessions of this meeting, and was alluded to by name; but although amidst those whom the society to which he is attached professes *especially* to benefit, such was the feeling manifested, that at a meeting called by him at the City Hall, during one of the evenings of the convention, only some *twenty-five persons* were present, and the meeting adjourned — some of that number going to Corinthian Hall, to report to the large and intelligent audience of citizens and delegates with which it was filled.

Similar resolves, passed at Philadelphia, Pittsburg, Chicago, and other places, might be given, but these must suffice. Did the limits or purpose of this work allow, it would be matter of extreme interest to give proofs of the improvement of the colored people in our country, and of

instances of marked ability and character among them, quite contradictory to the ideas of their condition given by leading colonizationists, as well as evidences that the prejudice is yielding to the power of truth — although, of course, this is a gradual process, as must be every change in old opinions.

These earnest and intelligent testimonials, repeatedly given, are striking evidences of the real character of this professed “benevolent scheme.”

OPINIONS OF CLARKSON, WILBERFORCE, AND
OTHERS.

THE names appended to the protest which follows are well known as those of some of the eminent philanthropists of England—men whose character stands high, and whose good deeds are known of all.

So frequent is the intercourse becoming between one nation and the other, that a free interchange of opinion in regard to great questions vital to the happiness of two great nations, an unrestricted exchange of kind and faithful warning and rebuke, cannot but be beneficial to both.

A word in regard to the circumstances which led to the protest, and also how the excellent letter of that great and good man, THOMAS CLARKSON, was written. In 1830, ELLIOT CRESSON, of Philadelphia, a distinguished colonizationist, visited England, and for nearly three years, while there, sought to enlist leading philanthropists and the popular feeling in behalf of the American Colonization Society, by representing its great object to be the abolition of slavery. In 1833, WM. LLOYD GARRISON also visited England, and repeatedly invited Mr. Cresson to discuss the merits of the Colonization Society, *which he always refused to do*. At a meeting held in Rev. Mr. Prince's chapel, Devonshire Square, London, by Mr. Garrison, Mr. Cresson, who was present, refused to hold a discussion in the chapel, which was freely offered for the purpose, but offered *to lecture* there. After repeated efforts, he formed a colonization society, at a meeting in London, of only about one hundred and twenty persons, to which such men as T. F. Buxton, James Cropper, Mr. Macaulay, and Mr.

O'Connell, the real friends of African civilization, were not invited. Soon after, a member of Parliament sent Mr. Garrison duplicate copies of the protest, which, coming from such men, destroyed the influence of the society, which never had from that time more than a "name to live."

Many other able and interesting testimonials against the society from England could be given, did space allow.

While in England, in 1833, Mr. Garrison had an interview with Mr. Clarkson, who was then much in favor of the American Colonization Society, through Mr. Cresson's representations. The interview had no effect at the time in changing his mind; but, in 1840, this letter was sent, and is especially of interest, as being the result of his own reflections and examinations, with little personal intercourse with any American on the subject.

The opinions and sentiments of these documents, independent of the sources from whence they came, are worthy the most serious consideration.

PROTEST.

WE the undersigned, observing with regret that the American Colonization Society appears to be gaining some adherents in this country, are desirous to express our opinions respecting it.

Our motive and excuse for thus coming forward are the claims which the society has put forth to antislavery support. The opinions are, in our opinion, wholly groundless; and we feel bound to affirm that our deliberate judgment and conviction are, that the professions made by the Colonization Society, of promoting the abolition of slavery, are altogether delusive.

As far as the mere colony of Liberia is concerned, it has, no doubt, the advantages of other trading establishments. In this sense, it is beneficial both to Africa and America; and we cordially wish it well. We cannot, however, refrain from expressing our strong opinion, that it is a settlement of which the United States ought to bear the whole cost. We never required of that country to assist us in Sierra Leone: we are enormously burdened by our own connection with slavery; and we do maintain that we ought not to be called on to contribute to the expenses of a colony, which, though no doubt comprising some advantages, was formed chiefly to indulge the prejudices of American slaveholders, and which is regarded with aversion by the colored population of the United States.

With regard to the extinction of the slave trade, we apprehend that Liberia, however good the intentions of its supporters, will do little or nothing toward it, except on the extent of its own territory. The only effectual death

blow to the accursed traffic will be a destruction of slavery throughout the world. To the destruction of slavery throughout the world, we are compelled to say, that we believe the Colonization Society *to be an obstruction*.

Our objections to it are therefore briefly these — while we believe its pretexts to be delusive, we are convinced that its *real* effects are of the most dangerous nature. It takes its root from a cruel prejudice and alienation in the whites of America against the colored people, slave or free. This being its source, the effects are what might be expected ; that it fosters and increases the spirit of caste, already so unhappily predominant ; that it widens the breach between the two races ; exposes the colored people to great practical persecution, in order to *force* them to emigrate ; and, finally, is calculated to swallow up and divert that feeling which America, as a Christian and a free country, cannot but entertain, that slavery is alike incompatible with the law of God and with the well being of man, whether the enslaved or the enslaver.

On these grounds, therefore, and while we acknowledge the colony of Liberia, or any other colony on the coast of Africa, to be *in itself* a good thing, we must be understood utterly to repudiate the principles of the American Colonization Society. That society is, in our estimation, not deserving the countenance of the British public.

WM. WILBERFORCE,
WM. SMITH,
ZACHARY MACAULAY,
WM. EVANS, M. P.,
SAMUEL GURNEY,
GEORGE STEPHEN,

SUFFIELD,
S. LUSHINGTON, M. P.,
THOS. FOWELL BUXTON,
JAMES CROPPER,
WILLIAM ALLEN,
DANIEL O'CONNELL, M. P.

LETTER FROM THOMAS CLARKSON TO WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

DEAR SIR :

When you was in England on a former occasion, you did me the favor to call upon me at Playford Hall, to take a part against the "Colonization Society." Long before this visit, my friend Mr. Elliot Cresson had engaged me in its favor, so that I fear that I did not show you the attention and respect (while you was at my house) due to so faithful an apostle of liberty. You have lately been in England again ; but your numerous engagements prevented you from seeing me, though it was your intention to have done so, and to have conversed with me on the same subject. I understand from your friends in London, who sent me a message to that effect, that you wished to know the particular reasons why I changed my mind with respect to that society. I have no objection to give you a short account of the reasons which induced me to enter into it, and finally to abandon it.

My attention was first drawn to this subject by Mr. Elliot Cresson, who said that there was at that moment an almost *universal* desire in the people of the United States to abolish slavery and the slave trade, and that he and they had a plan for this purpose. The plan was, to emancipate all those then in bondage there, and to send them to Africa, the land of their fathers, where they were to buy land and form colonies on the principle of *civilizing the natives* there, of *teaching them Christianity*, and of *preventing the slave trade* in their immediate neighborhood, as well as of trying to put an end to it in other parts, wher-

ever their influence might reach. This desire or disposition in the American people to accomplish so glorious a work was, he said, almost *universal*. It was not confined to the clergy, or persons of superior intellect or high moral character, but it extended through the various classes of society, *even to the planters themselves*, who were then deeply *convinced of the sin of holding their fellow-creatures as slaves*, so that slaves for transportation might be bought for £7 10s. each, (the sum calculated to pay their passage.) Many masters were so convinced of *the sin of slavery*, that they would emancipate, and were then emancipating, their slaves for nothing ; that is, *without any pecuniary consideration*, or on the *condition* only that they should be sent to Africa, and comfortably provided for there. Upon this *universally prevalent* disposition, the *Colonization Society* was founded, and a district, to be called Liberia, on the western coast of Africa, was fixed upon for the purpose. This was the account given me by my friend Mr. Cresson ; and I own that I was *overcome* with joy, and carried away by it. I thought it was one of the sublimest plans ever devised. Here the two great evils of slavery and the slave trade were to be done away at one and the same time in the United States. But *that circumstance* which astonished me the most was, that there should have broken out *all at once*, and *over the whole land*, such a sunshine of benevolent feeling ; that men should suddenly, and all at once, have given up long-established customs and the rooted prejudices of ages ; and that the hardened hearts of planters should have been all at once melted and softened, and their consciences so smitten as to have acknowledged *slaveholding* to be *a sin*, for which they were anxious to *make reparation at a great sacrifice*, namely, the free emancipation of their slaves. These feelings, on the part of the American people, were not to be accounted for upon *any ordinary principle*. I thought that nothing but

the Spirit of God could have worked such a miracle, and that, if it was his will that the blessing of freedom should come to American slaves through the means of the Colonization Society, we were bound most thankfully to accept the boon. My astonishment was so great at this miraculous change of things, that I questioned my friend Mr. Cresson, *over and over again*, if his account was not exaggerated. He replied, always, that it was strictly true. And these were the reasons why I patronized the society in the very beginning of its formation.

I began now to think very seriously on what had been, at different times, related to me on this subject; and, first, how such an immense work was to be accomplished. Nearly *two millions and a half of slaves* were stated to be then in the United States, and all these were to be transported to Africa. It struck me that no private funds could be collected by Mr. Cresson, either in England or in America, sufficient for this purpose; that it was, in fact, and ought to be, a government work; and I told him *my fears* that he would never accomplish his object. He told me, in reply, that, besides subscriptions by individuals, the different states in the Union would each give its quota of money towards it, sufficient to transport all the slaves within its own district or boundaries. He then showed me one or two American newspapers, in which it appeared that one of the states — Virginia, I think — had already promised a very large sum, *some thousands of dollars*, to the work; and he believed that the rest of the states would follow the example. Thus my fears were quieted, as they related to this part of the subject. I do not know whether Virginia has to this day fulfilled her promise.

On going more deeply into this subject, *new ideas* rose up to my mind. I began to think, that if the slaves in the United States amounted to the *immense number* reported, with the population every day increasing by birth, *no man*

then living might see this good work brought to an end ; and that, *during all this time*, that is, during their transportation, all the horrors of slavery would be going on among those who were left behind. I determined, therefore, to satisfy myself on this point ; and therefore, when I saw my friend Mr. Cresson next, I inquired what was the then state of Liberia ; how many emancipated persons had been already imported into it, and what was the number annually expected to be brought into it. I gathered from him, as far as I can now recollect, that between two and three thousand had already come into it, and that more were on their way thither ; but that, if I waited a little time longer, he could give me a better answer. I accordingly waited for some months, when I found that the recruits began to come in *much more slowly than before*, and that, judging by the last importations, or the number then imported in a given time, I could not expect that more than one thousand, or fifteen hundred, or at the most two thousand emancipated slaves could be then *counted upon to be sent annually into Liberia*. This alarmed me, and I began to think that some difficulties had occurred in the way of the emigration ; either that the *funds were then* not equal to the transportation of more, or that *more could not be procured*. *Not more than two thousand, at most*, could be expected to be brought into the colony in a year ; whereas not less than one thousand per day should have been sent to that and other parts of the continent of Africa, to get rid of a population of between two and three millions in any reasonable time. No person, if Mr. Cresson's plan were followed up in *such a slow and lingering manner*, could hope to see the extinction of slavery in the United States in less than five hundred years, if at all. Nor could they take off, by such a slow process, even the rising generation as they were born. Nor, if the American government were to take the plan into their own hands, could they, in

any reasonable time, accomplish the work, were they even to give to the project *every shilling of their surplus revenue in their treasury*, and employ *their whole navy in the transportation of those people*, taking in the rising generations, and all the difficulties which would occur. Even they, the American government, could not accomplish it in less than fifty years. I considered, therefore, Mr. Cresson's plan, so far as related to the removal of these unhappy people, *as impracticable* within the lifetime of any man then living, and I told him so repeatedly ; but I could never get a satisfactory answer from him, nor can any satisfactory answer ever be given to show that the scheme is practicable ; and this ought to weigh with those who, if this society still exists, *have a desire to enter into it*. Let such persons, moreover, consider that this society has already existed, I believe, for eight or nine years, and that there is *not a slave less in the United States now than when they began their work*. Indeed, notwithstanding *all their efforts, during all this time*, there are *many hundreds of thousands more*, in consequence of the increase of population, than when the plan was first proposed ; the slave population, according to the best accounts, amounting *now to nearly three millions*. And I may say further, that if this society still exists, it is *criminal* ; for to hold out that their scheme would produce *the entire extinction of slavery in America*, (and this was held out, with an inconceivable obstinacy,) what was it, or what is it, but to delude the public as well as themselves, and to teach people to *rely upon this one measure* ? whereas, if their scheme had never been proposed, they *would have been looking out for some other remedy or cure*.

But I began to have other fears, as I looked into the subject further, from a very different view of it. I began to question, whether the persons to be sent out were *the proper persons to found a new colony in an uncivilized part of the world*, and whether they would not do *more harm than*

good. The natives of Africa, besides being called upon to abolish the slave trade in their own territory, were to be *improved in their morals, to be civilized, to be Christianized ;* but *were slaves newly emancipated* fit persons to carry on such a work ? And yet, by the scheme, such, and such alone, except the officers, were to be employed in it. The scheme had reference only to those *who were then slaves*, and who *were to be made free on the occasion ;* that is, just before the sailing of the vessels which were to convey them to their new homes. Now, it is obvious that, if these people were to be sent to Liberia and other parts of the same continent, they would go there *with all the vices of slavery upon their heads.* Theft, lying, prevarication, and trickery of every kind are the characteristics of a slave, brought on inevitably by the vicious system under which he had been obliged to live. To this are to be added the brutal and superstitious notions which such people must have ; their wants of education and of any knowledge of civilized life ; but, above all, their want of any moral principle to guide them, and their total ignorance of God and religion. Now, I did not think that people of this description were fit to be sent to Africa, to *form a pattern colony* for the imitation of the natives there ; for they were not persons of a *pattern conduct* themselves. These were my thoughts upon this part of my subject, and I mentioned them several times to Mr. Cresson. He said that hitherto he had taken all the care he could to make a selection, but admitted that one hundred and twenty of this description had come into Liberia amongst the last importations. He candidly confessed that he did not see how he could help himself on a future occasion. Indeed, he spoke only the truth ; for the scheme *related only to those who were then in bondage*, and who, *as soon as ever they were emancipated*, (however unfit they might be,) were to be the component parts of the new colonies in Africa.

You will see in this narrative my reasons for patronizing at first the American Colonization Society, and my reasons, also, for having afterwards deserted it. I left it, first, because it was *entirely impracticable*. This is a *sufficient reason* of itself; for no man in his senses would pursue a plan which he thought could never be accomplished. I left it, secondly, because I thought that *newly-emancipated* slaves were not qualified to become colonists in Africa to any good purpose. How could persons be sent with any propriety to *civilize others* who *wanted civilizing themselves*? Besides, the advocates for the Colonization Society in America had no right to send *the scum of their population* to Africa, to breed a moral pestilence there. As far, however, as the *abolition of the slave trade* concurred in the plan, it must be allowed that Liberia has done a great deal of good. But then, this was *the first* colony planted, and the people sent there, as Mr. Cresson assured me, were more select. Many of these had been emancipated a considerable time before, and had got their own living, knowing something of the habits of civilized life. My argument relates only to *newly-emancipated slaves*, who, according to the scheme, were to be hurried off from the plantations as soon as their liberty was given them. If the society did not take these people, then the prospectus offered to the public had no meaning in it, and slavery could never, according to its promises, be *extinguished* in the United States.

Since writing the above, I have learned from an American paper that a skirmish has taken place between the colonists of Liberia and the people of Gaytoombah's town. I know nothing of the causes of this apparently little war, but am grieved to learn, when the skirmish was over, that a most wanton, deliberate, cool-blooded act of butchery was practised *by the missionaries themselves*; who boasted that, while the people of Gaytoombah's town were gather-

ing up their dead, they had the "*best chance of any to fire into their groups*, and, when they had turned their backs, to *pepper their hams with buck shot.*" This was too bad, and contrary to the usages of war among civilized nations ; but *to rejoice in, to boast of, to make a joke* of such a murderous deed, belonged only to *savages* ; and yet these men were, we repeat, *missionaries, disciples of the Prince of Peace*, and perhaps *leading men* in the colony. What effect such barbarous conduct will have upon the natives, to prevent future colonies from being settled on their coast, we may perhaps live to see. The news of this massacre will certainly be spread by the Kroomen all over the African coast, and the Colonization Society may be deprived of the power of making further purchases in Africa, except in their own immediate vicinity, where they may have done some good. If this should ever be the case, they may bid farewell to their future hopes. Where, then, will they provide land on this continent for three millions of emancipated slaves ?

But I have not done with the subject yet. Mr. Cresson had scarcely left England the last time when new information was given me on this same subject by two American gentlemen of the very highest moral reputation, by which I was led to suppose two things — either that I had mistaken Mr. Cresson in his numerous conversations with me, or that he had allowed me to entertain erroneous impressions without correcting them. It was true, as my two friends informed me, that there had actually been a great stir or agitation in the United States on this subject, and quite as extensive and general as Mr. Cresson had represented it to be ; but that the cause of it was not *a religious feeling*, as I had been led to imagine, by which the planters *had been convinced of the sin of slavery*, but a base feeling of fear, which seemed to pervade all of them, and which urged them *to get rid of the free people of color* by

sending them to Africa. These people were more knowing, intelligent, and cultivated than the slaves, and, it was believed, were likely to join them, and be very useful to them in the case of an insurrection ; so that, if these were once fairly sent out of the country, they, the planters, might the more safely rule their then slaves with a rod of iron. This information was accompanied by an account, by way of proof, taken from American newspapers, of different meetings held by the friends of the Colonization Society in different states of the Union, and of the speeches made there. It appeared from these speeches that the most violent supporters of this society *were planters themselves* ; and that the speakers did not hesitate to hold out the monstrous and hateful proposition, that the negroes were *not men and women*, but that they belonged to the *brute creation*. It was impossible to read these speeches, which were so many public documents, and not perceive that the persons then assembled were no friends, but bitter enemies, to the whole African race, and that *nothing in the way of good intentions* towards the negro could be expected from them. It is unnecessary for me to attempt to describe what my feelings were upon this occasion. I will only say that I saw the scheme — shall I say the diabolical scheme ? — with new eyes, and that the new light thus thrown upon it, added to the two arguments before mentioned, determined me to wash my hands clean forever of the undertaking.

With respect to my dear and revered friend Mr. Wilberforce, I will tell you what was his opinion on the subject. He saw Mr. Cresson through my introduction, and having heard patiently all that Mr. Cresson had to say in favor of his scheme, put this important question to him : “ Why, when the government of the United States have millions of acres of land, whole states, indeed, at their disposal, why do you send them to Africa for a new

home, when you can locate them in the country in which they were born, and to which they have a claim by birthright, and on account of services to the community?" Mr. Cresson never answered this question so as to satisfy Mr. Wilberforce, and Mr. Wilberforce would not stir a step till it was answered. His opinion was, that, if Congress were composed of just and honest men, they would locate these slaves in a territory neighboring to their own, and make a separate state of them, and have them represented on the floor of Congress; or that they would send them to a great distance, making an allied state of them there, and sending proper officers and magistrates with them, to live among them, and to put them in the way of governing themselves. But he gave the preference to the former measure. He always thought that there was something hidden in Mr. Cresson's plan, which was purposely concealed.

I have now given you my reasons for having once patronized the Colonization Society and then deserted it, and hope you will consider them satisfactory.

I am, dear sir, with great esteem,

Very truly and cordially yours,

THOMAS CLARKSON.